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PRI, ITALY.

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THE BOOK OF CAPRI

BY

HAROLD E. TROWER B. A.

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BALLIOL COLLEGE OXFORD.

(BARRISTER - AT - LAW)

BRITISH CONSULAR AGENT AT CAPRI, ITALY.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

EMIL PRASS.

59 & 60 PIAZZA DEI MARTIRI.
NAPLES.

1906.

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Veiled head of Tiberius, found in Capri. (British Museum).

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ZIPHELLINUS.

CONTENTS

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

Topography.

Latitude and longitude — Distances from Naples &c — Area, and acreage under cultivation — Form, fanciful comparisons — Altitudes — Water supply — Population. Rate of mortality — Production of wine — Electrical station, Anacapri.

CHAPTER II.

Climate.

Climate and weather distinguished — Temperature, humidity, pressure of atmosphere — Climate warm and dry — Rapid drainage — Prevailing winds, their characteristics — Rainfall — Mean annual temperature — Bright sunshine.

CHAPTER III.

Classical Capri.

Virgil mentions Capri — Pomponius Mela, and Strabo — References of Ovid, Seneca, and Pliny the Elder — Juvenal, Statius, Claudian, and Sidonius — Plutarch — The younger Pliny — Tacitus — Suetonius — Marcus Aurelius — Ptolemy and Solinus — Inscriptions — Blæsus, the Capri poet.

CHAPTER IV.

Geology.

Enumeration of chief authorities — Geological formation — Inclination of stratification — Composition of limestone of Capri — Age of geological formation — Oppenheim quoted — Upheavals of earth's crust — Glaciers — Traces of primitive man — Historic period — Line of erosion — Günther quoted — Tiberian land level — Island did not rise horizontally — Submerged masonry — Inclination of sewer at Grande Marina — Measurements of Blue Grotto — Two openings, and phenomenon explained — Interior corridor of Blue Grotto — Blue Grotto known to Romans — Ruffo's theory of blue light

CHAPTER V.

Capri under Augustus.

His first visit — Legend of oak tree — Wealthy Romans favour island homes — Palaces to be attributed to Augustus, not Tiberius — Quotation of Tacitus examined — Last visit of Augustus — His boyish amusements — Death of Augustus — His diversions — Baring-Gould's account of Emperor's last hours.

CHAPTER VI.

Capri under Tiberius.

His reasons for leaving Rome — His reasons for choosing Capri — His appearance, habits, and tastes — His companions in Capri — His death — His character, and how it was affected by the disappointments of his life — Our reasons for declining to accept the estimate of the character of Tiberius, as portrayed by Suetonius and Tacitus — Conclusions arrived at from a study of the busts, cameos, and reliefs of Tiberius.

CHAPTER VII.

Capri in the Middle Ages, and more recent times.

Caligula and Commodus — Capri joined to Sorrento: afterwards to Naples — Saracen raid, 812 — Paestum, a pirate stronghold — Capri transferred to Amalfi — Im-

portance of Amalfi—Norman conquest of South Italy—
Sicilian Vespers — Capri captured by Sicilian fleet — Suc-
cessive exemptions of island from taxes — Garrison mu-
tinies — Fidelity of island to Alphonso — Further exemp-
tions in 1491 — Two communes separated — Ravages
of Keyrd-ed-din — Short account of Barbary Corsair,
Keyrd-ed-din — Castle of Barbarossa destroyed —
Plague, 1656—Military Governor appointed—First exca-
vation, Villa Jovis — Ferdinand visits island — Disputes
between Capri and Anacapri — Seminary for priests —
Bishopric abolished, 1818— Vines destroyed by disease.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Construction of Roman Masonry and Pavements.

Method of building walls, "opus quadratum" and "concrete" — Observations of Middleton on "opus quadratum" — Concrete walls, "faced" or "unfaced" — Remarks of Lanciani thereon — Pliny on mosaic pavements — Vitruvius — Middleton on various Roman pavements.

CHAPTER II.

Ancient marbles found in Capri.

Pullen's definition of marbles — His enumeration of fifteen groups — Colouring and place of origin — List of marbles actually found in Capri — Important collections of marbles mentioned by Lanciani.

CHAPTER III.

Removal, and destruction of Ancient Marbles.

Discrepancy between number of Palaces in Capri, and result of excavations — Weichardt on removal of Roman relics — Quotation from Lanciani — Christian churches enriched with pagan treasures — Consumption of marbles in lime-kilns.

CHAPTER IV.

Site of old City — Contrada Torre.

Site of Greek city of Capreæ, its present boundaries — Cisterns, mosaics, pavements &c, scattered over entire district. — Greek inscription — Description of sarcophagus and contents, found here.

CHAPTER V.

Greek Stairway to Anacapri.

Stairway partially destroyed in making new road — Number of steps existing in time of Hadrava and Mangoni — Captain Church leads his horse up steps—French fort at Capodimonte.

CHAPTER VI.

Cyclopean Wall.

Extension of wall — Construction of wall — Probably of Phoenician construction.

CHAPTER VII.

Villa Jovis.

Most important remains on island — Reference to Alvino's drawing and plan — Weichardt compares these remains to Palace of Augustus at Rome — Quotation from Suetonius—Identity of Villa Jovis proved—Weichardt describes construction of Imperial Palace — Detailed description of the ruins — Remains of bath-room— " Peristyle " — " Triclinium " — Gardens—Sloping corridor — First excavation of Villa Jovis — Second excavation — Discovery of two " puteals " — Discovery of bas-reliefs, now in Naples Museum — Precious stones, now in mitre of San Costanzo.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Faro.

Compared with Pharos of Alexandria — Grain fleets described by Merivale — Quotations from Seneca and Suetonius — Legend of its destruction by earthquake— Discovery of lead pipes — Discovery of bas-relief — Measurements of tower — Discoveries of Hadrava.

CHAPTER IX.

Palazzo a Mare.

Temple of Isis — Augustus ; the probable builder — Weichardt's estimate of its extent — Excavations of Hadrava — Altar of Cybele — Hamilton collection — Other results of Hadrava's excavations — Cisterns, a curious deposit — Quotations from Pliny and Merivale on murrhine vases.

CHAPTER X.

Palace at Punta Tragara.

Hadrava and Mangoni agree, that an Imperial Palace stood here — Weichardt identifies this spot by reference to Suetonius — Quotation from Suetonius — Discovery of Roman pavement.

CHAPTER XI.

Palace at Unghia Marina.

To be attributed to Augustus — Feola argues from words stamped on bricks — This view controverted — Middleton quoted, as to brick stamps.

CHAPTER XII.

Villa, or Thermæ of Castiglione.

First excavation by Hadrava — Weichardt's opinion — Discoveries of Hadrava, marble vase &c — Further discoveries by Hadrava — Hadrava's account of Festa for King of Naples — Governor of Capri continues excavations — Further discoveries in 1823 and 1857.

CHAPTER XIII.

Temple of San Michele.

Position of mountain — Description of Hadrava — Feola's description of ruins and road in 1830 — Weichardt's surmises as to purpose of road — Conclusion of Weichardt, that this was site of Temple.

CHAPTER XIV.

Camerelle.

Theory that they supported a road — Hadrava and Romanelli consider them " Sellarie " of Tiberius — Discovery of " spintrie " — Remarks by Addison — Cisterns, probably beneath roadway.

CHAPTER XV.

Mulo, and Scoglio della Sirena.

Harbour on South side — Masses of masonry seen by Feola — Weichardt observes remains of baths &c — Scoglio della Sirena, the fabled abode of the Sirens.

CHAPTER XVI.

Monacone.

Ancient steps leading to top — Feola, Weichardt, and others identify it as the "Island of Sloth", mentioned by Suetonius — Passage from Suetonius relating thereto.

CHAPTER XVII.

Certosa.

Carthusian monastery — Erected on Roman foundations — Site of Imperial residence — Weichardt places here an Augustan Palace — Roman cisterns — Monastery founded by Arcucci — Hadrava's description of monastery in 1790.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Palazzo Inglese.

Largest building on island — Built by Thorold, an English merchant — Ferdinand IV stays there — Col. Lowe makes it his headquarters — Stone with Greek inscription used as threshold.

CHAPTER XIX.

Roman Remains at Anacapri.

Feola places five Imperial Palaces at Anacapri — Probably two only were Palaces — Excavations at Capo di Monte — Discovery by Feola of huge vaults at il Pozzo — Discoveries of Feola at Monticello — Dàmecuta the most important — Derivation of name — Area occupied by Palace — Discoveries mentioned by Mangoni — More recent discoveries mentioned by Dr. Cerio.

CHAPTER XX.

Campo Pisco.

Bought by Bishop Gallo — Meaning of name — Discoveries of Hadrava — Mangoni thinks some public building stood here.

CHAPTER XXI.**Porto Tragara.**

Safe anchorage for Roman galleys — Traces of masonry — Flight of steps below sea-level — Discovery of leaden pipes — Mooring rings.

CHAPTER XXII.**Truglio and Sopra-fontana.**

Excavations in 1827 discover pavements and statues — Mangoni mentions four cisterns — Dr. Schoener describes cisterns, and considers them reservoirs of the old town.

CHAPTER XXIII.**Villa at Aiano.**

Site of Roman Villa according to Hadrava and Mangoni — Discoveries mentioned by Mangoni — Discovery in the vicinity of eight marble columns — Four removed to Caserta — Other four at Church of San Costanzo.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Blue Grotto.

Measurements — Mackowen, Weichardt, and Schoener on change of sea-level — Present opening used for ventilation—Grotto used in ancient times—Flight of steps—Interior corridor, views of Mangoni, Mackowen, and Schoener — Discovery of Roman Villa above Grotto in 1875 — Who really rediscovered the Grotto? — Opinions of Norman Douglass — Reference by Capaccio and Parrino — Negative evidence — Extract from archives of Naples — Conclusion, Kopisch rediscoverer — Early authorities on Grotto — Quotations from Alexander Dumas, and Hans Andersen.

CHAPTER XXV.

Cave of Mithras.

Situation, and means of approach — Derivation of name " Matromania " — Feola and others conclude that it was dedicated to Mithras — Discovery and description of bas-relief — Altar referred to by Hadrava — Discovery of terra-cotta statuette — Feola's description of the Temple—Schoener attributes it to early Imperial times—Weichardt's remarks — Dr. Cerio asserts that the vault and walls were adorned with glass—Dr. Roane examines the theory that the rays of the rising sun fell on statue of Mithras — Weichardt admits Mithraic use — Summary of writer.

CHAPTER XXVI.

" Grotta arsenale. "

Description and measurements of Feola — Used to repair ships &c — Discoveries of Dr. Cerio in 1879 — Theory of Dr. Cerio, that Grotto was used as a temple— Weichardt considers it a shipwright's yard— Mangoni mentions holes for beams.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Grotto of Castiglione.

Largest Grotto — Place of refuge from Saracens — Ascent of engineer Santo — Description by Schoener.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

" Grotte dell'Arco e Felce. "

Remarks of Feola and Breislak on peculiar substance adhering to limestone — Excavation and discoveries of Dr. Cerio in Grotta delle Felce in 1882.

CHAPTER XXIX.

" Grotta Oscura " — A Lost Grotto.

Well known till 1808 — Identified by Norman Douglass — Largest of the Grottos, and chief attraction to visitors — Mentioned by Giannettasio and Serafino Martorio — Description by Joseph Addison — Excerpt from unpublished MS. of Feola — Referred to by Mangoni.

CHAPTER XXX.

Church of San Costanzo.

Situated near old Greek town — Bishopric created — Stood on pagan foundations — Byzantine wall painting — Eight marble columns of Roman period — Architectural description of Schoener.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Church of San Stefano.

Dates from 1683 — Pavement in Presbytery made of marbles from Villa Jovis — Other Roman pavement — Relics — Monument of Arcucci — Silver figure of San Costanzo — Precious stones found at Villa Jovis.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Convent of Santa Teresa at Capri.

Founded by Serafina di Dio — Other monasteries established by her — High altar adorned with marbles from Villa Jovis — Painting of St. Nicholas of Bari.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Church of San Michele at Anacapri.

Majolica pavement of 1769 — High altar adorned with large piece of lapislazuli.

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

English and French occupation of Capri.

Ferdinand IV. deposed, two Sicilies separated — Sir Sydney Smith captures island — Col. Lowe made Military Governor — Lowe strengthens fortifications — Capt. Church, engineer officer at Anacapri — Two unsuccessful attempts by French to take Capri — Murat King of Naples — French fleet in three divisions attacks island — Real attack on Anacapri — Feints on Grande and Piccola Marinas — Landing effected at Oricio — English camp rushed, and Anacapri stairs occupied — Retreat of Church down cliffs of Monte Solaro — Lowe holds out in lower town — Reappearance of Anglo-Sicilian fleet — Fleet compelled by bad weather to retire — French force revictualled — Lamarque presses siege of town — Lowe surrenders — English fleet returns too late — French strengthen island — Letter from Lowe to Lamarque — Extract from Report of Lamarque to King of Naples.

CHAPTER II.

Unknown Grottos, and Rock-climbers.

General description of White Grotto — Exploration of Ewers and party in 1902 — Difficult ascent — Dimensions of Grotto — Imaginative description of interior — Ewers explores Grotto di S. Maria del Soccorso.

CHAPTER III.

Quail shooting, and netting.

“ Bishop of Quails ” — Number formerly netted — Large profits — Ferdinand IV. visits Capri for shooting — Description of quail nets — Two flights yearly — Wind influences their arrival — Blind quail as decoys — Hand-net, its dangers — Poaching.

CHAPTER IV.

Some Capri flowers, and where they grow.

An unscientific chapter — Where the myrtle blooms — Narcissus, where to find it — No primroses — Haunt of the violet — Early crocuses — Orchids — Asphodels — Anemones — Rosemary and cistus.

CHAPTER V.

Festival of San Costanzo — an island Carnival.

Original verses by Ellingham Brooks — Early history of San Costanzo — Preparations — The “ octave ” — Description of the Festa — Silver figure of San Costanzo — Superstitions — Festivities at night.

CHAPTER VI.

Exploration of Blue Grotto by Kopisch and Pagano.

Legends — The start — Pagano swims in — Tubs of lighted tar — Sketch taken — Proprietor of Grotto appears, and sees the Devil — Inner passage explored in hope of treasure — Christening of Grotto.

CHAPTER VII.

Capri versus Anacapri.

PREFACE.

The conspicuous part that the little island of Capri has played in the world's history is out of all proportion to her size, which is a mere pin-prick on the map of Europe. The stranger to Capri is wonder struck as he begins to gather labourously thread by thread, some trace of her great world-history. This rocky islet, which is now chiefly known to the traveller by its Blue Grotto, was for seven years the cynosure of that vast Roman Empire, which has had no rival, except it be England's Imperialism of today. Nearly a thousand years of slumber followed the too fierce light that had focussed on her shores. For eight centuries her wretched and half-starved people were harried by fierce Corsairs, when richer booty failed. Then came the brief sway of French and English, productive of little glory to either.

Ten years of life spent on this charmed island have not exhausted, but enhanced her fascinations for the writer, and where the field of search is limited, and the mind active, a complete exploration of all sources of information regarding Capri's history has been the inevitable result. I lay no claim to originality of matter

or thought. Mine has been rather the work of the honey bee, who explores each petal in search of treasured sweetness for the common hive; often too the plainest and most unpretentious blossom renders richest harvest of garnered wealth. I have merely collected, from every source known to me, facts as well as theories and opinions of other writers, which I have laid before the reader, using in nearly every case "*ipsissima verba*". I have endeavoured to act the part of a just and upright judge, who marshalls the evidence before a discerning jury, with; "Gentlemen, the evidence is before you, consider your verdict". In every case (except perhaps in the Chapter on Tiberius), I have avoided dogmatism, and have appealed rather to the reader's intelligent responsibility, by leaving the final decision on vexed questions to his own good judgment.

"The Book of Capri" has not been compiled for the specialist on Roman remains and architecture, but for that larger class, the average traveller, who necessarily possesses little exact knowledge on these points. I have therefore added chapters on "The Construction of Roman Masonry and Pavements", "Ancient marbles found in Capri", and "Removal and destruction of Ancient Marbles". Those who desire to pursue further these studies can readily do so by obtaining the works of high authority, referred to in the Bibliography.

I have abstained from illustrating the book with reproductions of such hackneyed subjects as the Blue Grotto, the Arco Naturale, fair peasants carrying superhuman loads, or sprightly tarentella dancers in tawdry finery: those whose predilections lie in this direction can easily satisfy their taste at illustrated-

card shops. It is hoped that the photographs here reproduced will be found of considerable interest. The veiled head of Tiberius which forms the frontispiece was found in Capri, and was bought in 1873 from the dealer Castellani by the British Museum. The vow to Mithras, p. 223 which was found in the Grotto Mitromania, has been specially photographed for this work by Messrs. Sommer and Son of Naples. Through the courtesy of Mr. A. H. Smith, Assistant Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, I have obtained two excellent photographs of the altar (or base of candelabrum) p. 127 a 128, which forms part of the Hamilton collection in the British Museum. This photograph has never been published before. The ground plan of Villa Jovis p. 139, and the view of the Faro and Villa Jovis p. 140 as they appeared in 1853, have by the kind permission of the Dr. I. Cerio been photographed from his rare volume of Alvino, which is now out of print.

I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to my friend, Mr. T. S. Jerome, United States Consular Agent at Capri, for the ready access he has always granted me to his complete and well chosen library: indeed, it is not too much to say, that without the aid of his copious books of reference, this little book could not have been undertaken or completed.

The monotony of a "one man show" has providentially been avoided by the kind and willing help of various friends, who have acceded to my request to write chapters for "The Book of Capri" on subjects with which they were specially conversant, and to which my absence of technical knowledge would have rendered it impossible for me to do justice. I refer to the

chapter on Geology , contributed by Dr. I. Cerio , on which much care, and the result of many years research has been faithfully bestowed. The chapter on Climate has been written by Mr. Silva White Secretary to the British Association who has treated the subject in a manner so light and informal as almost to conceal his thorough knowledge of the science and practice of meteorology. In writing this chapter, Mr. White has been greatly assisted by the table of decennial observations and other information contained in Dr. Vincenzo Cuomo's valuable book ' L' isola di Capri '. The dainty chapter on the fragrant treasures of mountain and woodland by Mrs Longworth Knockèr; the lively and graphic account of Kopisch's adventurous exploration of the Blue Grotto by Mrs Wolffsohn; the erudite condensation of classic lore by Mr T. S. Jerome; and the fantastic and imaginative periods of Dr. Hans Heinz Ewers , will I feel sure appeal to many readers, who will, I hope, think that these chapters have considerably added to the value of this work.

CHAPTER I.

Topography.

The island of Capri lies in latitude $40^{\circ} 32'$ N. and longitude $14^{\circ} 15'$ E.. It rises like an alpine rock at the extreme south of the Gulf of Naples, overlooking, towards the East, the Sorrentine peninsula; to the North, Naples, Vesuvius, and the unbroken line of cities that stretch from Pozzuoli to Castellamare; to the West, Procida, Ischia, and lying beyond them, in the glow of the setting summer sun, the far distant islands of Ventotene and Ponza of unhappy memory.

Capri is distant from Naples 19 miles (Kil. 31), from Ischia (Monte Solaro to Monte Epomeo) $19 \frac{1}{5}$ miles (Kil. 33), from Amalfi $19 \frac{1}{3}$ miles (Kil. 32), from Sorrento 9 miles (Kil. 14, 500). The distance from Lo Capo to Campanella, the nearest point of the mainland, is 3 miles (Kil. 5): this channel is called the "bocca piccola".

The greatest length of the island, from Lo Capo to Punta Carena is 4 miles (Kil. 6. 170), the greatest breadth is between Punta Tuoro and Gradelle $1 \frac{3}{4}$ miles (Kil. 2. 800); the distance in a straight line from the Grande to the Piccola Marina is $\frac{4}{5}$ miles (Kil. 1. 375).

The area of the entire island is 2560 acres (Capri 989, Anacapri 1571). Of this area in the year 1900, 622 acres were under cultivation in the Commune of Capri, and 1060 in the Commune of Anacapri. (See Consular Report for South Italy, N.º 2744).

Jean Paul Richter compares the form of Capri to a Sphinx, and Gregorovius to "an ancient sarcophagus, whose sides were adorned with snake-haired Furies". Others have allowed their fancy to persuade them that its outline resembles the boot of a cavalier, while Mackowen finds a likeness to a crocodile.

The highest point of the island is Monte Solaro 1919 feet (585 met.) next comes S. Maria Cetrelle 1620 feet (494 met.). Barbarossa 1334 feet (407 met.), above sea-level. The Villa Jovis on Tiberio is 1114 feet (340 met.), Castiglione 820 feet (250 met.) San Michele 803 feet (245 met.), the Telegraph, or Semaphore hill 852 feet (260 met.), and Damecuta 495 feet (151 met.) above sea-level.

The water supply of the island is at present quite insufficient, and though it is seldom that the supply of drinking water fails entirely, yet every summer, building has to be abandoned, owing to lack of water.

The cultivation of flowers and vegetables is also rendered difficult and expensive owing to the sparse and unreliable water supply. At present the islanders rely almost exclusively on cisterns, usually built under their houses, which collect the rain water. One of the great needs of Capri is a liberal and unfailing supply of water, (See Consular Report, South Italy, 1902, N.º 3070). In addition to the system of cisterns there are on the island three natural springs called in Italian, "sorgente" or,

"fontane": being the reservoirs or receptacles in which the water, after percolating through the soil, is collected and drawn off. Mangoni mentions five springs, but of these the one at Lo Capo under the hill of S. Maria Soccorso, has ceased to flow, having been choked by the falling in of rocks and soil: the other spring mentioned by Mangoni, Marrocella, is simply a branch or offshoot of the spring of Aquaviva. Three springs accordingly still exist, one on the South side of the island between Monte Solaro and Castiglione, near the Piccola Marina: this spring, is said to yield the best and purest water. The spring of Aquaviva is to be found where the old steps (lately repaired), leading from the Piazza to the Grande Marina are crossed by the carriage-road. The third spring, that of Truglio, is to be found in the Piazzetta at the Grande Marina. In addition to these natural springs, various reservoirs (serbatoi) exist for the collection of the overflow of the springs of Aquaviva and Marrocella, and are thrown open to the inhabitants only, in times of great scarcity of water: the principal one lies close to the Strada Nuova, at the point where the steps formerly passed under the carriage-road.

In considering the hydrographic conditions of the island, and consequently the relative purity or impurity of the water furnished by these springs, it is necessary to remark, that, owing to the short distance traversed by the water, (on account of the limited area of the island), the water is only partially purified by filtration. In June 1891, a careful chemical analysis of the waters of Aquaviva and Truglio was made by Professor Turisini, Director of the Chemical chair of the Municipality

of Naples. The result of this analysis was to show that, the water from these springs was very strongly impregnated with lime, and " was not fit for drinking purposes, and could not be rendered so, on account of its impurities, its hardness, and brackish taste ". (*L'Isola di Capri*. Dr. Cuomo. p. 31).

It is of interest to observe how slowly the population of the island has increased in the course of the last five or six hundred years. This must be accounted for in early times by the constant ravages of the Saracens, who killed the male population, and carried off the women. In later times the natural increase of the population has been checked by the constant flow of emigration to South America. Mackowen calculates that in 1307 there were 1500 souls in the entire island. In the time of Hadrava (1792) the population had only risen to Capri 2200, Anacapri 1300. Mangoni (1834) places the number of inhabitants at Capri 1980, Anacapri 1500. The census of 1871 estimates the population of Capri at 2333; and that of Anacapri at 1675. In 1881 the population of Capri was 2827, and that of Anacapri 2021. From 1881 to Dec. 31, 1892 there was an increase of 629 souls in Capri, and 223 in Anacapri. In 1903, " according to statistics furnished by the Municipal authorities of the communes of Capri and Anacapri, the population of the entire island amounted to 6369 persons ". (See Consular Report, South Italy. 1903. N. 3249).

It will readily be conceded that the healthfulness of a place is in great part to be judged by the average duration of life of the inhabitants; it is therefore of some importance to consider the death-rate of the island of Capri. Again availing ourselves of the Table of Mortal-

ity, compiled by Dr. Cuomo, (*L'Isola di Capri* p. 78, 79) we find that, during the period extending from 1878 to 1892, the average death-rate for the whole island was, 17.5 per 1000 inhabitants; if from these figures we exclude the mortality of infants under one year old, (which under the conditions prevailing in South Italy is exceptionally high), the death-rate is reduced to 13.2 per 1000. During the same period the average birth-rate the whole island was, 31 per 1000.

In regard to the derivation of the name Capri, there can be little room for doubt that, we must look for a Greek and not a Latin, derivation. Greek was the language of the island when Augustus first brought it into notice, and as we shall see in a later chapter, the island had been occupied by Greeks, probably from Cumæ, for several centuries. All the other cities and islands on and round the Gulf of Naples had been peopled by Greek colonists and bore Greek names, and there is no apparent reason why Capri should be an exception to this rule.

We may therefore discard as improbable and untenable the Latin derivation from "capra" or "caprea" a wild goat. Mackowen also observes that the prefix "Ana" of Anacapri being obviously the Greek word for "upper" it is unlikely and contrary to all the precedents of etymology that this, Greek prefix, should be attached to a Latin termination.

According to Alvino the word is said to be of Tyrrhenian origin—signifying "island of the rough rocks".

Martorelli derives it from the Phoenician "Kaprajim", two towns.

In the absence however of any more plausible or convincing derivation, we may be satisfied with the generally accepted derivation, and assume that the name comes from the Greek word *Καπρος* wild boar.

The spelling of the name varies much among different writers.

Strabo writes it *Καπραι*.

Plutarch — *Καπριαί*.

Ptolemaeus — *Καπρεα*.

Dion Cassius and Ziphilinus — *Καπρια*.

Julianus — *Καπραία*.

Stephanus of Byzantium — *Καπινηνη*.

The Roman name is written "Capreæ" by Virgil, Tacitus, Pliny, Suetonius, Statius, and Juvenal.

Solinus — *Capraria*.

The principal industry of the island is the production of wine. From statistics furnished me by the Municipality of Capri we find that during the year 1905 the production of wine for the entire island amounted to 103,400 gallons. Formerly the reputation of Capri wine stood deservedly high, and even today "Capri wine" figures on the wine-lists of the principal hotels and restaurants. Unfortunately of late such an inferior quality of wine has been put on the market under the soubriquet of "Capri wine", that its reputation has suffered in no small degree. The deterioration of the wine is due to two causes, the primitive method in which it is made, and the introduction of grapes grown on the mainland, which are mixed with the real Capri grape.

	<i>Gallons</i>
Wine produced in 1905 . . .	103,400
„ exported . . . *	4,180
„ imported . . .	17,380

The above Table shows the large discrepancy which exists between the amount of wine produced on the island, and that sold under the name of "Capri wine" in Europe and the United States. As a matter of fact, the bulk of the wine exported under the name of "Capri" is grown on the mainland in the district in which the Falernian wine was produced in classical times. This district is only a few miles in a direct line from Capri, and the name has been adopted as a trade designation of that particular class of local wine. In my Consular Report for 1900, I called attention to the above facts, and suggested a remedy. "The Times" of April 5, 1902, quoting from the Report says, "The method which is pursued at present is crude and primitive in the extreme, for each farmer makes his own wine in his own way, the grapes are often picked before they are ripe, they are not properly selected and freed from foreign matter, and perfect cleanliness is not sufficiently considered: in addition to this, a large quantity of wine from the mainland is mixed with the island-grown wine".

English capital might profitably be employed in establishing a Winery on the system adopted in California. The Company enters into contracts with the growers for a term of five years,—agreeing to buy their grapes at a stipulated price per pound; the grapes are then conveyed to the Winery or Manufactory, where being scientifically treated in a uniform way, and with the aid of improved machinery a first-class and above all, a uniform quality of wine is produced, which might be confidently hoped to re-establish the character of Capri wine, and at the same time be remunerative to the investors.

In October 1901, the associated Academies of Munich, Vienna, Leipsic and Göttingen established at Anacapri (1,000 feet above the sea level) a station for the observation and registration of the dispersion of electricity in the open air. This station has been placed in the charge of Dr. Vincenzo Cuomo, who has been supplied with delicate and accurate apparatus for the measurement of electricity, after the Elster and Geitel system. The adjustment and capacity of the apparatus was tested by Dr. Elster before being handed over to Dr. Cuomo. In 1902 Dr. Cuomo published the first report of his daily observations, which, however, have extended over too short a period to permit of any definite conclusions being reached, but there is little doubt that results of great importance will eventually be arrived at.

CHAPTER II.

Climate.

This Chapter has been specially written for "The Book of Capri" by Arthur Silva White, Secretary to the British Association, author of "The Expansion of Egypt", "The Development of Africa", & c.

Some people take themselves too statistically: they needs must have exact figures before they venture upon anything, and, even when these are at their command, they are not always competent to draw correct conclusions. For instance, ladies at a bargain-sale will persuade themselves that they require certain articles simply because these happen to be below the normal market value, which is absurd.

Now, nothing is more difficult to define than the climate of a given locality. Climates, like our dearest friends, have their good and their bad points: it all depends on the point of view. There are some climates, of course, that are as near perfection as a newly-made bride; but, after the acclimatization of the honeymoon stage, one is apt to weary of the monotony of perfection: a climate is not good, in fact, unless one can grumble at it; because variety and contrast are essential anti-

dotes to boredom. Thus, when a change for the worse comes, one can appreciate what one has enjoyed. It may be simply the scirocco of listlessness, which lowers one's estimate of mankind in general and of oneself in particular; it may be a summer storm, which clears the air; or, again, a cyclone that compels us to support home-industries: in any case, someone will benefit by it. We must be reasonable.

In considering the climate of Capri, we are the more willing to dispense with the tyranny of statistics, because these do not happen to be at our command. It is true that, during the past 20 years, regular observations have been made by Dr. Cuomo, in his well-equipped observatory; but the results of the last decade have not, like those of the former,¹ been tabulated and published by this accomplished meteorologist. Moreover, since local variations are considerable in a high rocky islet like Capri, and climates proverbially deteriorate almost as much as generations later than our own, we must be satisfied in this place with a general description, unbiassed by the fact that most residents in Capri commonly regard their own locality as the most favored one.

There remains the point of view to be considered: and it is obvious that this must differ very widely. Your professional invalid, who has visited every Winter resort and tries Capri for a change, will not hold the same view as your robust tourist, who plays tennis or smokes Neapolitan cigars; whilst neither class can have the experience of residents, who have summered and

¹ "L'Isola di Capri", by Dott. Vincenzo Cuomo. Napoli; Tipografia A. Trani, 1894.

wintered the place, perhaps for several years. Our point of view, therefore, must be broad and impartial; and our standard of comparison will be the climate of the British Isles.

We must distinguish, too, between climate and weather — the general and the particular — and remember that there are days on which the meteorologist and the pathologist would agree to differ: since environment, in its effect on the human constitution, is an important adjunct to climate.

Unlike Ischia, which is larger and higher, and has other characteristics that give it a purely insular climate, Capri is small enough to feel the full effect of the sea in producing equability of temperature throughout the year, and also a small diurnal range; it is, moreover, large enough to offer many sheltered spots, and high enough to afford slight local variations of climatic phenomena.

The island, with its twin *massifs*, Solaro and Tiberio, connected by a ridge on which the town of Capri is situated, has a general slope towards the West, and therefore intercepts and cools the rain-bearing winds, producing a slightly heavier rainfall than if the versant of the island were in the reverse direction; but its moderate elevations sometimes escape the rain clouds that precipitate on the higher altitudes of the adjacent mainland and even cling round Ischia. The rain, too, when it does fall, is not absorbed by the impervious limestone rock of which the Island is composed, but is drained off rapidly down its declivities: indeed, so highly embossed is Capri, that, even after the heaviest showers, the roads and paths are never muddy. As for the dust

in the rainless summer months, that, as Kipling remarks, is another story.

The prevailing winds in the winter are N. and E., alternating with S., SW., and SE.; and of these, southerly winds are the least frequent. In the Summer, westerly winds prevail, particularly the *maestrale* (NW. wind), which ushers in the finest weather and blows constantly between the bright hours of eleven and five, giving place towards evening to the land-breeze from the north. February to April are the windiest months; June to August, the calmest. The *tramontana* (N.), *greco* (NE.), and *maestrale* (NW.) are fresh — in winter, cold — dry and tonic winds; the South, *scirocco* (SE.), and *libeccio* (SW.) are warm, humid, and sedative winds. The *scirocco* proper is moist and relaxing to a degree. East winds are moderately dry; west winds, moderately humid. The *maestrale* in winter, though comparatively rare, is bitterly cold and stormy—the *tramontana* too; but the worst storms come, of course, from the South-west, when the Atlantic system of weather prevails over the Mediterranean.

The Island carries a fairly high and steady barometer throughout the year. Taking January and July — the extreme months—as examples, Capri lies well within the isobar of 30. 0 inches in the former, and just on the edge of it (29. 9 in.) in the latter. The oscillations of the barometer are inconsiderable, except in the stormy winter months (January to March). To support a column of mercury under a pressure of 30. 0 inches means that you must pretty often enjoy anti-cyclonic conditions, or fine weather.

The mean relative humidity of the air does not vary greatly throughout the year, and is not excessive, owing to rapid drainage, impervious sub-soil, and high winds. The climate of Capri may, therefore, be regarded as neither dry nor humid, as the vegetation proves, but as occupying a mean position between these two extremes. Anacapri, being higher, may be relatively more humid in calm weather, when the clouds cling round Monte Solaro; but, on the other hand, being more exposed than the town of Capri, the high winds act beneficially in this respect. Mist is not frequent, nor of long duration, and occurs only in the winter months.

The rainfall is relatively light, as compared with the rest of Southern Italy. Owing to the precipitous character of the island, it is caught only on the roofs and terraces of the houses, (catchment basins, so to speak), and carefully stored in cisterns. In the summer, the water-supply occasionally gives out; then, water has to be brought from Naples. There is little or no rain between June and August, inclusive; but about the middle of September the weather breaks, and there is a copious rainfall, accompanied by thunderstorms and gales. The rainiest months are October to January, inclusive, during which the air is relatively humid.

Hail is not of frequent occurrence—perhaps it may fall on eight days in the year; and snow is unknown except in winters of exceptional severity. From October to May, the sky is more or less cloudy; during the remainder of the year it is clear, reaching, in the Summer months, and on occasional days in the winter, a serenity which is the principal charm of Capri, and the despair of the painter, who is condemned ever to

reproduce himself in smiling guise. Roughly speaking, and in the aggregate, one may say that, during the Spring, there is over a month of fine and under one month of rainy days; in the Summer, two months perfectly fine, and one week bad; in the Autumn, a month and a half of good, and nearly one month of rainy weather; in the Winter, at least one month of fine days and one month of very much the reverse. The remainder, probably, will be days on which there may be a difference of opinion.

In the important matter of temperature, one cannot speak with the same confidence and precision, because temperature varies with altitude (1° Fahr. less for every 270 ft) and is subject to many modifications due to position. Nothing is more deceptive than temperature; because the wind, although not locally affecting the air itself, lowers the temperature of the exposed skin by rapid evaporation: consequently, one feels colder than the thermometer registers. For purposes of comparison, too, all published observations of temperature are reduced to sea-level, and are not absolute, as would be preferable for regional comparisons. You may tell your servant to use the thermometer, in preparing your morning bath, but he much prefers to trust to his hand. Temperature, therefore, is to some extent a matter of feeling, though not of opinion—as time is—in Capri.

The mean annual temperature, taken at 60° Fahr., is higher than at any station in the British Isles; it is, for instance, nine degrees warmer than that of London. According to Dr. Cuomo's observations for the period 1885-1892, the mean maximums for the seasons were: Winter, 57° ; Spring, 66° ; Summer, 80° ; Autumn, 71° .

This shows a seasonal range of 23° . As regards mean monthly temperatures for the same period, the lowest recorded is 48° for January and February; and the highest, 74° for August—or, a mean annual range of 26° , as in London. The diurnal range is exceptionally low, as a result of proximity to the sea: it is greater in Summer than in Winter, the maximum being reached in August. It may be stated with some confidence that *none of the popular health resorts can be compared to Capri for its low daily range of temperature*—a matter of great importance to invalids; in particular, there is no sudden fall of temperature at sunset. The result is that, in Winter, even the most delicate persons can live in the open air (weather permitting) from eight or nine in the morning until after sunset, so far as temperature is concerned. In the Summer, of course, the cooler nights are welcome: in the absence of dew, one can sleep out of doors with safety.

Equability of temperature and, (considering its position as an island in a proverbially inconstant sea), comparative uniformity of climatic phenomena are the most marked characteristics of the climate of Capri. But the outstanding feature, and principal charm, is the bright sunshine which is almost constant in the summer and is comparatively frequent in the winter; the moonlight nights, too, are very beautiful. Its romantic land-sculpture and bold coast-line, the precipitous character of which is very impressive, make Capri one of the most picturesque islands in the world.

With these facts before him, the reader need have no difficulty in determining the most suitable spot for residence, according to the season. A southern exposure

in the winter and a northern aspect in the summer are more essential in Capri than in any health-resort on the mainland; and there is no house on the island which completely enjoys the advantages of both.

The best winter residences are situated on the Via Tragara — the only level path in Capri proper; and still more sheltered spots, though few houses, are available in the small amphitheatre above the Piccola Marina. The best Summer residences are to be found, and in any number, on all the northern slopes of the island, on Tiberio, and at Anacapri. Those who wish to be near the sea, for the excellent bathing and boating, will necessarily be attracted to the Grande Marina. But the island is so small, and the service of cabs so plentiful and good, that, so long as one is not far from the carriage-road which connects the Marina with Anacapri and Caprile, there are many other convenient and favourable localities in which to pitch one's tent. In particular, up at Anacapri, nearly a thousand feet above sea-level, the air is so light and fresh, that full advantage can be taken of the numerous walks along the flat, or on the gentler slopes of this high region.

NOTE - " *Climatologia insulare con particolare riguardo al clima dell'Isola di Capri* ", being a communication made by Dr. Vincenzo Cuomo of Capri to the Seventh International Congress of Hydrology and Climatology held at Venice. This valuable and comprehensive report, which contains Dr Cuomo's daily observations from 1890 to 1905 is the last word on the scientific climatology of our island. It is hoped that the report will shortly be published in book form.

CHAPTER III

Classical Capri.

(Being a statement of the extent of our knowledge of the island in Græco-Roman times, derived from the classical writers and ancient inscriptions, by Thomas Spencer Jerome, United States Consular Agent at Capri).

It is my purpose in what follows to lay before the reader, as briefly as is consistent with completeness, a statement of what is contained in the classical writers and inscriptions, concerning the island of Capri in ancient times. When we read the two hundred and eighty-eight pages of Mangoni's History devoted to this subject, to say nothing of his volume on Capri archaeology, or the one hundred and forty five pages of Canale, not to mention many others of greater or less renown, we get the impression that the fortunes of the island in Greek and Roman times are well known. It will be my endeavour to indicate just what we really do know on this subject.

Passing over the references in the 12th Book of the Odyssey, relating to the hero's passage of the Island of

the Sirens, as scarcely historical in character, and the lines in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (IV., 891) as equally mythical, and in both cases probably not even referring to Capri at all, we come chronologically to Virgil (*Aeneid* VII, 733-6) who mentions Oebale, "whom Telon is said to have begotten with the nymph Sebethis, when, already an old man, he held Capri, the kingdom of the Teleboans", — this being the first recorded instance of the stimulating effect of the Capri climate in cases of senility, a phenomenon which, so it is said, has since been noticed. I may observe in passing that, the Teleboans originally were a tribe inhabiting some small islands off the coast of Acarnania, and having as their only title to fame, a propensity to rob travellers. (See *Argonautica*, I, 749, and Strabo X 2, 20). It would appear that at some time Capri was colonized by them, but of course their bad habits were soon forgotten here.

Pomponius Mela (II, 7), names the island, and Strabo (63 B. C. -21 A. D.) describes it as follows (V, 4, 9) "Capri anciently contained two small cities; now, only one. The Neapolitans possessed this island, but having lost Ischia in war they received it again from Cæsar Augustus, giving Capri in exchange. Having erected here, very splendid edifices, he made it his special retreat". He suggests (I, 3, 19, & VI, I, 6) that, Capri was once disjoined from the mainland, and mentions its name; (II, 5, 20, and V, 4, 8).

Ovid (*Met.* XV, 709), and Seneca (*Ep.* 77), make bare mention of ships passing the island, and Pliny the Elder, (*Nat. Hist.* III, 12) says that, "at a distance of eight miles from Sorrento lies Capri, famous for the

castle of the noble prince Tiberius : it is eleven miles in circumference ". Silius Italicus (25-100 A. D.) refers to Capri as " the rocky island of ancient Telon " (Pun. VII, 50), and in the same poem sings of a " troop of affrighted Nereids hastening helter-skelter back to their accustomed haunt, where the Teleboan land lifts itself up in the midst of the sea ".

Juvenal refers (Sat. X, 71), to the " wordy and lengthy epistle " which Tiberius sent from Capri to denounce Sejanus, and a few lines further on speaks of " the prince sitting on the narrow rock of Capri with his Chaldean herd " (i. e. of soothsayers). Neglecting the chronological order, and continuing on with the poets, we find Statius (61-96 A. D.), referring to the mild winters and cool summers of the country about here ; and again (Silv. III, 5), he speaks of " the home of the Teleboans, where the lighthouse, rival of the night wandering moon, sheds its rays, sweet to anxious ships ", and also mentions its name at III, 2, 23. Possibly it is Statius, though I have not found the original passage, who speaks of Capri as, " Indeed a little island, but once a rival of Rome : it was a worthy home of Cæsars and men ". Claudian and Ausonius, poets of the IV. Century, mention Tiberius's residence at Capri (de Quart. Con. Hon. Pan and Tetrastich. 31), and Sidonius, in the fifth Century twice used the expression, " the Capri of Tiberius ", referring to his reign (V, 32, 2, VII, 104). In the same class may be included Julian's reference to Tiberius's life here (Cæsars, sub nom, Tib.).

Returning now to the historians and other prose writers, I shall give their references to Capri. These have principally to do with the life of Tiberius, and the weight

to be given to the tales they tell has been discussed in another place, and need not be dwelt on here. I shall do no more than to transcribe them.

Plutarch (On Banishment, 9), says that, Tiberius Cæsar passed the last seven years of his life on the island, and " that sacred, governing spirit that swayed the whole world, and was enclosed, as it were, in his breast, yet for so long a time never removed nor changed place. And yet the thoughts and cares of the Empire, that were poured in upon him, and invaded him on every side, made that island's repose and retirement to be less pure and undisturbed to him ".

The Younger Pliny (Ep. VI 20) speaks of the cloud from the great eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A. D. having surrounded and concealed Capri from the view of those on Cape Misenum, across the bay. The Jewish historian Josephus, in his " Antiquities of the Jews ", written late in the first Century, (XVIII, VI, 4, 5, 6 and 8), refers, but without details, to the fact of Tiberius's residence at Capri.

Tacitus, writing early in the second Century, contains a number of references to Tiberius' life here. His retinue was slender, one Senator Cocceius Nerva, his minister Sejanus, and one knight Curtius Atticus. " The rest were men of letters, chiefly Greeks, whose conversation might amuse him ". (Annals. IV, 57). Tiberius " secluded himself in Capri " (IV, 67) and we read further on that the historian was "strongly inclined to believe," that he was taken by its perfect solitude and inaccessibility. " The climate is mild in winter from the shelter of a mountain which intercepts the rigour of the winds; its summers are refreshed by breezes from the West and rendered

delightful by the wide expanse of the sea which the island commands. Tradition records that the Greeks occupied the region and that Capri was inhabited by the Teleboans. However it was, Tiberius chose for his retreat twelve villas having different names and of considerable magnitude, and the more intent he had formerly been on public cares, so much the more he now abandoned himself to secret debaucheries " and cruelty. He occasionally went to Campania (IV, 74), and " often came to the neighbourhood of the city (Rome), and even visited the gardens upon the Tiber., but went back again to the rocks and loneliness of the island, ashamed of his villanies and lusts, in which he rioted inordinately ", — and so on, with a few choice details (VI, 1). Later on, (VI, 6), the clairvoyant historian, refers to Tiberius' secret anguish " in this inaccessible solitude " and (VI, 20), mentions the fact that, Caius (Caligula) accompanied the Emperor to Capri.

Suetonius writing at about the same time, is our most voluminous though probably untrustworthy authority on Capri. On the occasion of the arrival of Augustus in Capri, " some decayed branches of an old ilex, which hung drooping to the ground, recovered themselves, at which he was so delighted that he made an exchange of the island of Ischia for that of Capri ". (Suet. Aug. 92). He had here a kind of museum of " the huge limbs of sea-monsters and wild beasts, which some affect to call the bones of giants : and also the arms of ancient heroes ". (Suet. Aug. 72). On his last visit here, A. D. 14, he spent four days on the island, during which time he distributed gifts, " constantly attended to see the boys perform their exercises, according to an ancient custom ;

still continued in Capri. He gave them likewise an entertainment in his presence, permitting the greatest freedom in jesting and scrambling for things thrown among them, etc. enjoying himself in every way he could. " He called an island near Capri " Apragopolis " — the Town of the Idlers, from the indolent life that several of his party led there. A favourite of his, Masgabab, whom he called " the founder of the island, " had been buried there the year before, and observing from his dining-room a great many people with torches assembled there, he improvised some verses, and asked Thrasyllus, a companion of Tiberius, to name the author: at which the courtier wisely praised them highly, and greatly delighted the old man, (Suet. Aug. 98). Tiberius, the same author tells us, " retired to Capri, being greatly delighted with the island because it was accessible only by a narrow beach, being on all sides surrounded by stupendous cliffs and by a deep sea ". (Suet. Tib. 40), and cast off all care of the government (Suet. Tib. 49). Having now the advantage of privacy " he abandoned himself to all the vicious propensities which he had long but imperfectly concealed and of which I (Suetonius) shall here give a particular account from the beginning ". (Suet. Tib. 42). The author then proceeds for four chapters to give the alleged private life of this old man from the age of sixty-eight to his death at the age of seventy-eight. The delicacy of our manners prevents even a transcription of these obscene passages, nor is there in them anything of importance relating to the island, unless it be that certain revels were held in caves and hollow rocks, and that Tiberius was often called Caprineus (Suet.

Tib. 42-45). Further on (Tib. 60) certain alleged cruelties of Tiberius are mentioned; his punishment of a fisherman who came upon him unawares, and the execution of a guard for the theft of a peacock from the imperial orchard; and we read, without too much compassion, of the punishment of a centurion for failing in his duty of keeping the roads in good condition. (See also Suet. Tib. 62). He also tried and punished the poisoners of his son Drusus. "The place of execution is still shown at Capri, where he ordered those who were condemned to die, after long and exquisite tortures, to be thrown before his eyes from a precipice into the sea. There a party of sailors belonging to the fleet, waited for them and broke their bones with poles and oars lest they should have any life left in them." (Suet. Tib. 62). This description hardly fits the present alleged Salto, nor any other possible place. On the occasion of the conspiracy of Sejanus, he had ships ready to enable him to escape to the legions if necessary. "Meanwhile he was upon the watch from the summit of a lofty cliff, for the signals he had ordered to be made if anything occurred, lest the messengers should be tardy. Even when he had quite foiled the conspiracy, he was still haunted as much as ever by fears and apprehensions, in so much that he never stirred out of the Villa Jovis for nine months thereafter" (Suet. Tib. 65). This is the only mention of the name of any Villa and fails to identify it. "During the whole of his seclusion at Capri, twice only did he make an effort to visit Rome" (Suet. Tib. 72). "A few days before he died, the lighthouse at Capri was thrown down by an earthquake" (Suet. Tib. 74); but we

know that it was standing again by the time of Statius. Caligula lived at Capri with Tiberius, and seemed to find it necessary to disguise himself in order to engage in disreputable pleasures, (Suet, Calig, 10), while Philo, the only contemporary writer, says; (Amb. III) that his manner of living while with Tiberius was very simple and wholesome, and draws a very different picture of Tiberius from the writers of a century later. The future Emperor Vitellius is said to have been at Capri as a youth during Tiberius' time: (Suet, Vitel, 3).

Marcus Aurelius in his "Meditations" (XII, 27) refers to "Tiberius at Capri" and Dion Cassius, the historian (155-220 A. D.) has this to say in narration of the events of the year 29 B. C., after Augustus had triumphed at Actium in 31 B. C. "Augustus obtained from the Neapolitans the island of Capri, which had belonged to them from the most remote times, in exchange for another territory which he granted to them. Capri is situated not far from Sorrento: it produces nothing useful, but it preserves a celebrity even to the present time because of the sojourn of Tiberius". (Rom. Hist. LII 42). He says further that Livia (his mother) was one of the causes of Tiberius' retirement to Capri (LVII, 12); and that during Sejanus' prosperity he seemed to be Emperor, and Tiberius only lord of the island of Capri (LVIII, 5.); and that Tiberius had prepared ships to escape in case Sejanus came to attack him. (LVIII. 13). His last reference to Capri is one to the effect that Crispina (the wife of the Emperor Commodus) and Lucilla (his sister), before disappearing from the world, were exiled to Capri (LXXII, 4).

Ptolemy in the second century, and Solinus in the third, mention Capri; and Sextus Aurelius Victor, an historian of the fourth century says, that, " Tiberius chose the island as a place of concealment for his wickedness ". (Cæsars III).

The foregoing, with one exception hereafter to be noted are, I believe, all the references to Capri to be found in the writings of antiquity, and it will be seen that they afford a meagre basis for the many pages of alleged history we find in some modern writers.

But an important source of historical information is often to be found in extant inscriptions. Let us examine what there may be of these. In the Grotto of Mitromania, which, from reliefs found there, is, probably correctly, believed to have been at some time—(but I think not before the second century), a place of Mithraic worship — is said to have been found a Greek inscription in the nature of an epitaph, — but there seems to be some doubt about it. In it, Hypatus, aged under twenty, bewails his untimely fate and relates that a " despot " (not a " Cæsar ", as it is often translated), " had once favoured him, but now deprives him of hope "; and he asks his brother and parents to " mourn for him no longer ". So far as I know, there is no way of connecting it with any particular " despot, age ", or circumstance.

Another sepulchral inscription found in Capri reads, " Taurikes, daughter of Taius, farewell ", and another, " Theano, daughter of Oenicus, farewell ". Another on a pedestal, " Athenodorus, son of Agesandros of Rhodes, made this ": and another. " Gnaeus Megacles, Patron of the people of Paestum ". Another found at

Sopra-Fontana is so mutilated as to be quite undecipherable, except that the Greek word meaning "Augustus" occurs in it. Another found near Tragara reads. "Yacinthi Juliae August (ae)". This probably refers to a slave or freedman of Julia Augusta, by which name Livia, wife of Augustus, was known after his death. "Yacinthi" is doubtless the same as our word "Hyacinth".

Pellicia reports one of more importance, which Dr. Schultze in his book on Capri (p. 35) seems to me to have slightly misapprehended, though the Greek is by no means clear. I make it read, "The people must not make a noise, nor an altar to the daemons, either in the agora (Piazza), or on the property of the public". As the word "daemon" was the regular one applied by the early Christians to the pagan gods—whose existence as supernatural powers they never doubted—we seem to have here one of the early laws looking to the suppression of paganism. It dates, I should think, from about the reign of Constantius, for the later laws were far more drastic, as the Christians became more firmly seated in the saddle.

The above are all the inscriptions reported in any of the books on Capri, which I have seen, though doubtless there have been others found. At any rate no others seem to have been used as a basis for historical narratives. In view of the foregoing, which, as I have said, is practically exhaustive, the reader can determine how much is truth and how much is fable, or perhaps we might say poetic imagination, in what is written and told as to Capri in ancient times. Possibly there is some more evidence to be produced to

convert Capri myths into history: if so, all will welcome it. Scientific archaeology may do much, and such investigations as Doctor Cerio has made are most valuable, though I have not touched on them here, as they seem to belong to prehistoric times. It is an interesting speculation that, his discovery of indications of an anthropophagous tribe resident here, may suggest the true nature of the " Siren " myth.

But I have left to the last, to reward the patience of the faithful reader, something of by no means the least importance — the only line of the only Capri poet of ancient times, — the predecessor of, how noble a brood in these days! Stephanus of Byzantium, a late writer, speaks of " Capri, an island of Italy: hence came Blæsus the Caprese serio-comic poet ", (de Urbibus). He must be the same who is mentioned by Athenæus in his *Deipnosophists*. (III Century). He tells us (III, 76) what word Blæsus used for " surfeit ", so we can surmise that there was sometimes a note of satiety in his verse: but more momentous far, he quotes (XI, 75) a line from Blæsus, noteworthy for its origin and its rarity, as well as for its sentiment. It runs;

ἑπτὰ μαθαλλίδας ἐπίχεε ἡμιν τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ

" Pour out for me seven measures of the best sweet wine ".

This is the one articulate cry of ancient Capri which has come to us across the ages!

CHAPTER IV.

Geology.

This Chapter has been specially written for. " The Book of Capri " by Dr. Ignazio Cerio, author of " Flora dell' Isola di Capri ", who also edited and annotated " Ruderii Augusto-Tiberiani ", written by Giuseppe Feola in 1830.

The first observations on the geology of the island of Capri, we owe to Pelliccia ¹ who in his work treated principally of the separation of the island from the mainland. A few years afterwards Breislak ² described its rocks with sufficient accuracy, considering that he wrote when geology, as a science, was in its infancy, and there were no serious studies on the subject. Rezzonico did not add anything new to what Breislak had written, while in 1840 La Cava ³ made known some of the mistakes of the latter, and was the first to notice the extensive deposits of volcanic materials ac-

¹ " Recherche istorico filosofiche sull'antico stato del ramo degli Appennini che termina di rincontro l'isola di Capri ".

² " Topografia fisica della Campania ".

³ " Statistica fisica ed economica dell'isola di Capri ".

accumulated on the surface of the limestone, attributing their origin to the violent Vesuvian eruptions, or to some other volcano, which may have since disappeared beneath the sea. More accurate studies, founded on modern scientific progress, are due to Oppenheim ¹, Karsten ², Walther ³, Steinman ⁴, De Stefano, Bellini ⁵, Canevaro, and recently to Günther ⁶, Parona ⁷, Airaghi ⁸, De Angelis d'Ossat ⁹, and to some of my own researches, extending over many years.

The island of Capri is formed principally of unstratified limestone of a light greyish colour, which constitutes the frame-work, as it were, of the island. It varies in some localities in its appearance, as at the base of Tiberio, and on the other side of the island under the cliff of Anacapri, and near the Grotto of the Madonna, where it has an oolitic structure: and near the "Grotto dell' Arco": also on the way to Lo Capo: near the road to Tiberio it is mixed with white

¹ " Beiträge zur Geologie der Insel Capri und der Halbinsel Sorrent ".

² " Zur Geologie der Insel Capri ".

³ " I vulcani sottomarini del Golfo di Napoli ".

⁴ " Sull' età del Calcare Appenninico di Capri ".

⁵ " Alcuni appunti per la Geologia dell' Isola di Capri ".

⁶ " Earth-Movements in the Bay of Naples ".

⁷ Sulla presenza di calcari a *Toucasia carinata* nell' isola di Capri.

Nuove osservazioni sulla Fauna de' calcari con *Ellipsactinidi* dell' isola di Capri

⁸ Echinodermi infracretacei dell' isola di Capri.

⁹ I coralli del Calcare di Venassino Isola di Capri

spots of limestone spar' (due to fossils enclosed). In Anacapri, towards Migliara, there is a layer of dark grey limestone with noduli of flint,

In the valley, which forms the lower part of the island, which like an isthmus, joins the cliffs of Anacapri with the hills of Capri, overlaying the limestone in irregular stratifications, there are sandstone, marls, layers of limestone, enclosing globules of iron pyrites and a siliciferous limestone of greyish or greenish colour. These latter materials constitute, what Italian geologists call the formation of *macigno*: and these extend down the two shores of the Grande and Piccola Marinas. Worthy of attention too is a bed of sandstone, at the little beach of Caterola on the northern side of the island, not unlike that on the shore and cliffs of Massa Lubrense. In a few localities the limestone of the island is stratified, and the layers are inclined from south to north, and at angles varying from twenty-five to seventy degrees. At Punta Ventroso the inclination is twenty-five to thirty; at the Green Grotto forty, and at the Marmolata and Punta Carena from sixty to seventy degrees. Banks of yellow or dark red clay, coloured by oxide of iron, either pure or mixed with fragments of limestone, fill the cavities and depressions of the rocks, and on these and the limestone lie large beds of pozzolana, lapilli, and volcanic ashes, which in some places attain to several metres in depth. Similar formations, horizontally stratified, are to be seen also in some of the Grottos near the sea.

On examining fragments of the limestone of Capri it is found to be composed of an infinity of closely

compacted marine bodies, which however are so amalgamated with the rock, that it is almost impossible to isolate them. The greater part can be best examined at the surface, where fragments corroded by the action of the atmosphere, show embedded fossils, slightly raised. Among those which can be recognised, are some belonging to the genus, *Itieria*, *Nerinea*, *Ceritium*, *Terebratula*, *pecten* etc. Quite recently I discovered in the limestone of Capo di sopra Tiberio, the white impressions (to which I have made reference before), as belonging to shells of *Toucasia sarinata*, other *Chamidae* and large *Nerinea*, of which I was able to isolate some fine specimens. Besides these, numerous species of corals are frequently found, together with *Sphaeractinia* and *Ellipsactinia*, all of them being important for determining the epoch of the formation of the rocks beneath the sea. Of equal importance are two layers of fossils which I noticed a few years ago ¹, one of them on S. Michele, at about two hundred metres above the present level of the sea, corresponding with an ancient sea-beach at the same level at Lo Capo di sopra Tiberio, with characteristic conglomerate of rounded pebbles: the other at the level of the town at Pastena, (138 metres), and also to the east of the English church, corresponding with a similar layer at Cesina, on the north side of S. Michele. Conglomerate sand, and rounded pebbles found there were the unmistakable indications of a sea-beach, the shells found are of the same kind, as those still living in the shallow waters of the sea round our island, such as

¹ Specimens of the above can be seen in my Natural History collection at Palazzo Cerio.

Columbella, Conus, Trochus, Cerithium, Phasianella etc. some of these still retaining their colour.

The rock upon which this lower shore stood, was perforated by lithophagi¹, the shells still remaining in their holes.

Scientists, who have studied the geology of the island, do not entirely agree as to the age of its formation. Oppenheim, who published an interesting monograph on Capri, believes that the greater part of its limestone was formed in the Titonic period — comprised between the jurassic and lower cretaceous epochs of the great mesozoic period. He sums up the subject in the following manner :

“ In the Titonic and lower cretaceous epoch the island of Capri was continually being formed essentially by organic remains, as a deposit in low waters along the western shore of the Tyrrhenian continent, and by the slow and continual lowering of the bottom of the sea. We must believe that it had been mainland already in the upper cretaceous, and at the beginning of the eocene period it underwent a series of convulsions, caused by inundations, and from the phenomena of the formation of mountains, in consequence of which the limestone was again submerged. At that period, eocenic deposits (macigni) were formed at low depths ; the sea was then fifty metres above the present level ; the connection with the Sorrentine coast was probably temporarily interrupted at that time, and in this manner the “ Bocca Piccola ” was formed, which was once

¹ Shells which live in holes, which they bore in the rocks.

more filled up, and again reopened at a very recent epoch *.

* We must then admit a gradual rising of the island in the course of the tertiary period, until in the quaternary period a movement was produced in the opposite direction, and the sea rose to the height of two hundred metres.¹ During the tertiary period the island was still connected with the mainland of the Tyrrhenian sea now submerged, and it was united again to the Sorrentine coast, recently emerged. Between that period and the quaternary it was already inhabited by man who as it seems kept domestic animals such as sheep, goats, and chased the stags supposed to be indigenous to Capri, their weapons being arrows and lances cut in obsidian.²

¹ This statement is consistent with the fact of my having found on S. Michele and elsewhere traces of a sea beach, with shells of species still existing, at two hundred metres above the present sea level (See page 32).

² The obsidian implements, alluded to by Oppenheim, and found by me in the Fern Grotto above the volcanic deposits, and at no great depth, were the only ones known to him at the time he wrote his work on the Geology of Capri. These implements belonged to the neolithic age, and were consequently a great deal more recent than the period of the catastrophe, which caused the destruction of the Tyrrhenian continent. Lately however (Oct. 1905) I have had the good fortune to discover in the vally of Tragara, immediately to the east of the Hotel Quisisana, a variety of extremely primitive flint instruments, together with the remains of elephants, hippopotami, rhinoceros, and other vertebrate animals. These remains were found beneath the eruptive deposits, and on the surface of horizontal beds of red clay, which had doubtless at some period formed the mud of an ancient lake, showing,

Then occurred the great catastrophe, which caused the destruction of the Tyrrhenian continents: the sea invaded the land then existing: large tracts of the coast were inundated, and the Bays of Salerno and Naples were formed. At the same time the volcanic action began, and many craters rose on the margin of the submerged land. A crater that made its appearance between Capri and Ischia, covered the former with trachytic deposits "; such is Oppenheim's theory.

Steinman, and Canevari, who annotated and translated his work, comparing the limestone of our island with that of other localities containing *Ellispactinie* concluded that the island belonged to the jurassic formation. Major Piatz of Munich, who examined some corals, found by Walther at Capri, attributed them to the same period. Baldacci also observed that the limestone of Capri, containing *Ellipsactinie*, forms almost all the mass of the island, and came to the same conclusion. However further observations on the stratigraphic position of *Ellispactinie*, made by Bellini, Di Stefano ¹, Di Lorenzo ², and the above mentioned Baldacci, threw further light on the subject. They observed that those fossils are also found in the lower cretaceous, while the *Nerinee* and *Itierie* of Capri are found also in the formation of the Urganian epoch of

that at some remote archaelothic period, man existed on the island of Capri, at a time when it was still connected with the mainland. For further information consult Appendix.

¹ " Osservazioni sulla Geol. del Monte Bulgheria in Provincia di Salerno ".

² " Osservazioni Geol. sull' Appennino della Basilicata Meridion. ".

Sicily. The limestone of Capri must therefore be attributed to the same formation. I may add, that my own discovery of *Toucasia carinata*, and *Nerinea gigantea* in the limestone of Tiberio finally almost settles the question, as these are characteristic of the Urgonian period. The sandstone, marls, clay etc, in the valley between the hills of Capri and Anacapri, are eocenic (tertiary), and were judged by Puggard ¹ to be without fossils: but Walther found in the bank of sandstone at Lo Capo, a layer rich in bryozoa of the same formation. My naturalist friend Dr. Bellini, and I, collected there *Fucoids* and *Nummulites*.

Some of the foregoing indications — that is to say, shells of the same species as still exist in our seas, rounded pebbles on S. Michele, Pastena at Capo di sopra etc., prove that our island, while still forming part of the mainland, subsided again under the sea, emerging afterwards at four distinct periods. At first the summits of S. Michele, Telegrafo, Castiglione, Tiberio, and Monte Solaro, became dry land, forming a small archipelago of islets, with their marine life, and their shores of sand and pebbles. The inner forces of nature, which had been inactive for a long period, once more became energetic, and produced a second upward movement of the crust of the earth, and raised the group of islets to the level at which the town of Capri now stands.

Another uplifting occurred which brought the island further out of the waters, changes which probably occurred at the beginning of the quaternary period. At

¹ " Description géologique de la Péninsule de Sorrento ".

this time the volcanoes of the Phlegrean region, Vesuvius, Ischia (which had been recently formed) and a volcano between the latter island and Capri, (which has since disappeared) displayed great activity, throwing and scattering all round, their sanidine deposits, part of which fell on our island. We can form a conception of these convulsions by examining the thickness of the volcanic deposits. Deep beds of pure pozzolana, sometimes interposed with layers of ashes, lapilli, and pumice stone, bear evidence of violent eruptions of long duration, while the alternations of strata of calcareous fragments and detritus deposited on or between them, indicate, according to their depth, long or short periods of inaction.

It might be inferred that these volcanic convulsions were the cause of the many changes in the surrounding continent and islands: this however is not the case: their influence being relatively small. These eruptions and the modifications occurring and extending to a far wider region of land and sea, were all the consequence of gigantic, although perhaps slow, and continual movements of the earth's crust, to which are also to be attributed the dislocations, the irregular formations of our island, and the dips in the stratification of its limestone, which being originally deposited as soft mud in the depths of ancient seas, had undoubtedly formed in horizontal layers. It is not possible to ascertain which of these convulsions caused the separation of the Sorrentine Peninsula.

Centuries elapsed, the phenomena which made the crust of the earth so unstable, although not entirely subdued, had lost a great deal of their energy. The period in which glaciers had covered the greater part

of Europe, and which left even on this island traces of their existence, had ceased ¹.

The mild temperature favoured a rich vegetation, the dense woods afforded shelter to the wild stag, the hog, the goat, and other animals. Primitive man, who had existed for ages in the surrounding regions, and even in Capri at a time when the island formed a part of the continent — a fact which is proved by the discovery of flint instruments, and the bones of elephants &c. alluded to above — found refuge in its grottos, and lived by hunting, fishing, and probably even by cultivating the virgin soil. Abundant proofs of its existence in the second period of the stone age, were found as before stated in the Fern Grotto, at the Parate, and other localities, in the form of primitive obsidian and flint implements, bones of various animals, land and marine shells, and the bones of fish. Among these were also five or six human lower jaws, and other human bones. While examining these I could not help putting to myself the question whether our neolithic man was anthropophagous. This subject has been discussed already by eminent anthropologists, as discoveries of a similar character have been made in other parts of Italy, and my fancy turned to the fable of the Sirens.

We have now reached the historic period. Phœnicians and Greeks occupied the island, and these gave

¹ I arrived at this conclusion by examining buried rocks (brought to light for building purposes) some of which were highly polished, while others had long parallel grooves cut in them by the moving ice, which contained stones embedded; these stones being flat and polished were anciently used for paving streets.

place to the Romans. Imposing ruins, scattered over the island, bear evidence of the magnificent buildings, which the latter erected. A careful examination of some of those standing near the sea, (or covered by it) and of certain grottos show traces of their having been submerged at a comparatively recent period. A deep groove (produced by the action of the sea) which is noticeable all around the base of the island at levels varying from three to four metres, and now beyond the waterline, is an indication of geological phenomena, which have occurred within the last twenty centuries of our era. Nor is it to be wondered at, for there are not wanting facts to prove the instability of the earth's crust. The north-eastern coast of Scandinavia is slowly emerging from the water; on the southern side it is subsiding; whereas Greenland is rising on its north-western side, and south-west it is dipping for a length of over two hundred leagues. The coast of Scotland on the north is emerging, while that of the south part of England is being slowly encroached on by the sea. In the Mediterranean, the coast of central and northern Italy are sinking at the rate of from fifteen to forty centimetres per century. We need not go far to prove this geological fact, the Temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli (a few miles West of Naples), with its columns still standing, places it beyond doubt that the temple was built above the level of the sea. There is evidence that the temple was submerged to the depth of seven metres for a considerable period, and then slowly re-emerged.

Mr. R. T. Günther F. R. G. S. has recently published an erudite and exhaustive report of the "Earth-Move-

ments in the Bay of Naples ", which was read by him at a Meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, on Feb. 9th 1903, and published in the " Geographical Journal " for August and September 1903. Mr. Günther comes to the conclusion that " whereas there " is an abundant evidence that the Island of Capri has " undergone very considerable changes in level, there " is no evidence that the level of the sea has altered. " The land has remained nearly stationary at its present level for a long enough period to allow of the " formation of erosion along the water line. At some " previous period (post-Roman) the land also remained " stationary in a lower position at the level indicated " by the 22 to 12 feet water-line — i. e. the land has " risen 22 feet at the East end, but only 12 feet at the " West end. The land was at a level sufficiently high " to raise the large aperture of the Blue Grotto partially above water, and to lift all low sites with Roman buildings, such as that at the Grotto Arsenale, " sufficiently above the water to make them suited to " their purposes. Thus, the Tiberian land-level must " have been at least 20 feet higher than the present. " At a still earlier epoch the land must have been at " a level high enough for the erosion of the floors of " the Blue Grotto, of Faraglioni rocks, and of all other " partially submerged caves. Land must have been " at levels low enough for the roofs of the caves to " have been awash. Thus the land must now stand " higher by the altitude of the roofs of the caves above " sea-level ".

As I have already treated in this chapter of three previous remote upheavals, which left undoubted traces,

I will follow Günther, summarising that portion of his paper which refers to comparatively recent changes of the level of Capri during post-Roman times. He begins his argument by pointing out the present line of erosion on the rocks which runs all round the island at the sea-level: this furrow is about a foot deep, but where the rock was cracked or soft, the erosion is deeper, as cavities have been formed. In some other parts, similar but deeper furrows are noticed, at from three to five metres above the level of the sea, and therefore beyond its reach, while innumerable round holes, the work of mytil, are visible between the upper and the present line of erosion, undoubted indications of that part, having been under water. Such marks can be traced in several places; in many of the Grottos at the sea-level, the line of erosion may be observed, at Cala di Matromania (reaching its greatest height i. e. five metres), all round and inside the lower part of the White Grotto, on the western side of the Scoglio di Matromania, here and there round the Faraglioni rock, and elsewhere. On the south-western side, near Punta Carina, the same traces of erosion, at about three metres above the sea, may be recognised, showing that the island did not rise horizontally, but was subjected to the same tilting movement, which caused the previous horizontal layers to dip in more remote periods. These marks which are so noticeable in many places, have disappeared where the rock has crumbled, or has been corroded by atmospheric agents. The Scoglio della Ricotta on the north-eastern side near the Capo, bears also evident traces of the old water-line. Beside these, furrows, indications of old beaches containing rounded

pebbles and coarse sand may be seen at very little height, between Punta Ventroso and Carena. It is of some interest to decide whether these changes of land-level occurred after the Roman dominion.

I will follow Günther's argument. Near Punta Tragara, at the Unghia Marina, there is a flight of steps cut partly in the rock, and partly made of solid masonry, which is now about three metres under water. Evidently it must have been above the sea-level, when it was constructed. At Palazzo a Mare, there are remains of an immense building, locally known as Bagni di Tiberio, on account of the building having a wing, which is partly near the beach, and partly in the sea. A large room, built of very strong masonry, is specially to be noted, the original pavement of which, now about forty centimetres above the sea-level, has been almost entirely destroyed by the action of the waves, and a drain has been exposed under the North wall at about one metre and a half *under water*. There are also pipes in the walls, which are continued under water at a depth of little more than a metre and a half. These drains and pipes, at the time of their construction, must have been above the sea level, and it is evident that there has been a subsidence of the soil on which the building stood, carrying it partly under water.

On the western side of the Grande Marina, a sewer is to be observed under the cliff near the beach, which probably conveyed to the sea the drainage of a great part of the northern side of the old town. It is easy to inspect a small part of this drain, and we notice that its inclination has undergone a change: instead of inclining towards the sea, it dips in a contrary direc-

tion at an angle of twenty five degrees. Colonel Mackowen ¹ cites the position of this drain as a proof of a considerable subsidence having taken place between S. Michele and Monte Solaro, since the Roman period. But when it is remembered that other ruins in the neighbourhood are perfectly upright and perpendicular, that the aqueduct of the Fontana at the Grande Marina still preserves its original inclination, and serves its purpose to this day, that the walls of Palazzo a Mare still keep their perpendicular position, we can without looking for further proofs, safely assert that the dip of the Cloaca is due to a very limited local dislocation, caused either by some earthquake or by some exceptionally heavy storm, the waves undermining the hardened puzzolana, of which the drain is constructed.

Capri has three places, where ships can find shelter in heavy weather the so-called Porto di Tragara on the east, the Piccola Marina on the south side, and the Grande Marina on the north side. The Porto di Tragara, although not serviceable in all weathers, could give shelter to vessels during westerly gales; and in fair weather the Roman galleys could ship their supplies and water. There are on the rocks looking eastward, still to be seen remains of Roman buildings which in heavy storms are washed by the waves; it is evident that these buildings must have stood higher, and beyond the reach of the sea, when they were built. Large leaden pipes were found embedded in the cliffs of Punta Tragara, probably in connection with immense reservoirs,

¹ " Capri, Mackowen, p. 5 ".

which stood on the Castiglione, and on S. Michele, and ran along the present Via Tragara. A few years ago fragments of rusty iron, which served to hold rings to moor ships, could be seen in holes cut in the rock round the Porto di Tragara. At the Piccola Marina, or Mulo, on the "Sirena" there are traces of Roman masonry: this rock, which juts out into the sea is now washed by it during storms. In Roman times it must have stood higher above the sea-level, and afforded an even more effectual shelter, than it does at present, during northerly gales. At the Grande Marina, looking from the terrace of the Hotel Continental, large square masses of masonry can be seen in the sea, which resemble other similar constructions in the surrounding bays, and it is easy to identify them as part of an ancient breakwater. This breakwater evidently served to shelter the anchorage from the northerly and westerly storms. It certainly stood above sea-level, and the subsidence of the soil brought it below that level, while the silting of sand, and the fall of debris from the cliffs above, filled up the harbour, which in Roman times must have been much deeper than it is at present. Further evidence might be produced to prove the change of level to which the island was subject during historical times, but I will only add the result of the observations of such eminent Italian scientists as Marquis Ruffo ¹, Melloni, Belli, and others on the Blue Grotto, which will serve the double purpose of giving a condensed description of the Grotto, and of proving that it is to earth-movements, that we are indebted for

¹ "Sulla Grotta azzurra di Capri".

the wonderful luminous phenomenon, which has made this cave, and the island of Capri celebrated all the world over.

This celebrated cave is on the northern side of the island, and stands at the foot of a precipitous cliff, which plunges almost perpendicularly into very deep water. It can be entered only by small boats through a natural arched entrance of which only eighty or ninety centimetres remain above water: the side walls are little more than one metre apart, although they widen out under water, and at the depth of about one metre a platform, or kind of sill is formed. On account of the narrow entrance, access to the Grotto is only possible in very calm weather. As soon as the boat has crossed the low archway, it enters a large oval-shaped cave, which according to the measurements given by Marquis Ruffo is fifty-one metres in length, twenty-seven in width, and about twenty-one metres above the sea-level in height; the sides of the Grotto go down almost perpendicularly to the bottom: the greatest depth being about twenty-one metres. As the measurements given by the numerous writers on the Grotto vary considerably, Mr. Harold E. Trower and I decided to take very careful measurements and soundings ourselves, with the following results, length of the Grotto from the wall of the inner landing place to the entrance (inside wall) 52 metres, maximum width 28 metres. Depth in the centre of the Grotto 21 metres 40 centimetres.

On the right side of the entrance, at a depth of about two metres, another large opening in the rock is to be observed, in communication with the Grotto, which measures at its widest part about ten metres.

The presence of this submerged arch causes the phenomenon of the blue light, which renders the Grotto unique. The Grotto, which faces North, does not derive any direct light from the sun, and if the small entrance, which is scarcely noticeable on the surface of the water, were the only aperture, very little light would be admitted, and at a short distance from the opening, there would be almost total darkness, but the light enters through the submerged window.

It is a recognised scientific fact, that sea water, when seen in small quantities, appears perfectly clear and colourless, but in large bodies it has a perceptible green or blue tint, according to its depth. The same is the case with the water of lakes, when not mixed with mud or vegetable matter. In order to enter the cave, the light must pass through the sea water, which all round Capri is perfectly clear, and of the deepest blue colour. The white rays passing through this body of blue water are refracted, the blue water absorbs the red and yellow rays, transmitting rays of blue colour, which are reflected on the walls, and roof of the north side of the Grotto, while its southern side retains its original colour: the phenomenon is seen to best advantage, when a boat or screen intercepts the small amount of light, which enters through the upper entrance.

At the back of the Grotto there is an opening in the rock about one metre above the sea-level, and on landing a narrow passage is discovered, which gradually leads upward for a distance of over 150 metres. This passage has been visited by many explorers, either

from curiosity, or to ascertain whether it would be possible to clear a pathway to the ruins of a Tiberian Palace, which stood on the plain of Damecuta, and with which this passage may have been in communication in Roman times. The visitors to this passage have however only been able to ascertain, that it is possible to penetrate a certain distance, when it becomes narrower, and very difficult to ascend, that the temperature inside is some degrees higher than that of the outside atmosphere; in addition to this, large boulders block the way, any attempt to remove them being impossible, as it would result in the fall of the low roof of the passage, which is formed of loose and crumbling rock and earth, and the daring explorer would either be buried alive, or crushed to death. It is very probable that torrential rains, earthquakes, and other causes, have in the course of centuries caused these blocks to fall and obstruct the passage, which must always have been narrow, but was possibly practicable.

Inside the Grotto borings of mytili are observed, and on the sides almost as high as the vault; on the other hand submerged steps, which must have been above sea-level when constructed, and traces of the chisel near the entrance to the passage, prove that the Grotto must have been known to the Romans, and that there were changes of the sea-level at a time posterior to their dominion. No ancient writer, makes any mention of the Grotto, or of the phenomenon of blue light, because in all probability this phenomenon did not then exist, and the Grotto was in no way different from the many other Grottos to be found round the coast.

Marquis Ruffo, a learned Neapolitan scientist, from whom we have already quoted, was the first to study the light effects of the Blue Grotto, from a scientific point of view. He published an interesting paper, which was read before the Royal Academy of Naples in 1836, in which he contends that the entrance to the Grotto during the Roman period, stood much higher above the sea-level than at present, consequently the light, passing freely into the Grotto, overcame the effect of the blue light, which entered from the opening under water, and which had very little effect, and was not sufficiently conspicuous to attract attention.

Melloni ¹ another scientist who also studied the light of the Blue Grotto, and read a scientific paper on the subject before the Royal Academy of Sciences of Naples, in concluding his lecture states that, on account of the periodic relative variations of the level of the earth, and that of the sea, and accepting the result of accurate observations made by Nicolini (who proved that in historic times, between the coast of Amalfi and the promontory of Gaeta, the sea successively reached a level of six metres, above or below, the present coast line) — he came to the conclusion that, Capri had been subjected to the same variations, and endorsed the theory of Ruffo that, the opening of the Grotto at the beginning of the Christian era was entirely out of water. Melloni also calculated that eight or nine centuries later, the Grotto was entirely submerged and consequently was inaccessible, and its very existence forgotten.

¹ " Sulla luce azzura che illumina la Grotta di Capri ". Rendiconto dei lavori dell' Acc. delle Scienze Sez. della Soc. Reale Borbonica di Napoli anno V. 1846.

CHAPTER V.

Capri under Augustus.

" Ecquid iis videretur mimum vitae com-
mode transegisse ". (Suet. Aug., XCIX).

The first historical mention of Capri is an account of the first visit of the Emperor Augustus in 29 B. C. and of the lucky omen which greeted his landing. Like a young beauty, who has hitherto hidden her charms in happy obscurity, at the touch of the imperial wand Capri was raised to a high place, she became an object of envy to all the vast Roman Empire, and for a period of over fifty years, was the cynosure of millions of jealous, watchful eyes, envious and suspicious of her good fortune, in being the favourite of two successive Emperors, Augustus and Tiberius.

Weichardt says; " In the year 29 B.C. on his return from Asia, and shortly before his three days of triumphal festivities at Rome, Augustus (then 33 years old) came to Capri, whether for the first time or not, is unknown. He was shown an old stone-oak (*Quercus Sessiflora*, S. M.) which had hitherto appeared withered, but had at his coming, put forth fresh shoots. In consequence thereof, Augustus who was superstitious, regard-

ed the occurrence as a good omen; and having taken a liking for the island, he asked to have it exchanged for Ischia, although the latter was much larger and more fruitful than Capri. It was in this wise that Capri, which had belonged to Naples since the year 326 B. C., passed into imperial possession". ("Capri", Weichardt p. 33 and Suet. Aug. Chap XCII).

In the account of Suetonius, the gist of which is related with sufficient accuracy by Weichardt, a very interesting side-light is thrown on the superstitious, or at any rate highly imaginative side, of Augustus. He landed quite by chance at Capri, as he might have done at Ischia, Procida or Ponza, but a happy omen of hopeful portent instantly occurred: nature herself disregarded her inviolable laws to do him honour, and bid him welcome, and the dead bough blossomed in homage to the Dictator of the world. The Emperor was delighted, his pride was flattered, he had at last found a spot, where nature in harmony with man, bowed to his will, and acknowledged his sway. In future he would take Capri to his imperial bosom, he would shower kingly gifts upon her, he would crown her rugged cliffs with majestic palaces, tame her forbidding mountains with roads, and with ample supply of water, make his favourite bright, and deck her with flowers.

"In the days of Augustus we find that, there was on the part of Romans of rank and wealth, a decided preference for residing on islands. The exciting life in Rome induced statesmen and others of high rank to seek rest and strength for fresh labours by taking their ease from time to time on beautifully situated islands

Brutus resided at the country-seat of Lucullus at Nisida, Antonius lived before the battle of Actium at Samos for a long while, and to this place Augustus also retired after the victory of Actium. Agrippa lived at Lesbos and long before he became emperor, Tiberius went into seven years of voluntary banishment at Rhodes, devoting himself while there to his studies with friends of like mind. As emperor however, as is known to us, he spent the last eleven years of his life at Capri ". (" Capri " Weichardt p. 32).

It has been assumed by all writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that the numerous palaces, villas, aqueducts and roads, which we see today scattered over the entire face of the island of Capri, were the work of Tiberius. " Nothing exists to justify this assumption—on the contrary, it may be accepted as a fact that the whole or at least the majority of the villas by the sea and at the mid-altitude were built by Augustus, and that his successor Tiberius, only took over and used them. It is, however possible that he partially altered or enlarged them enough to suit his own purposes. Augustus was as we know, next to Adrian, the emperor most fond of building. Tiberius on the other hand built but little, and only that which was absolutely necessary, or seemed to him to be a matter of honour ". (" Capri ", Weichardt, p. 62,). We will again have recourse to Weichardt; " Augustus who owned the island for nearly half a century, had acquired it in his young, enterprising and happy days — because it specially pleased him — is much more likely to have given expression to this predilection by building, than the misanthropic Tiberius who being near old age, came

to Capri, in order to withdraw himself from the world he so hated. " ("Capri", Weichardt, p. 67). On the other hand, and in strong contrast to the passion for building possessed by Augustus, Suetonius tells us that Tiberius "during the whole of his government, never erected any noble edifice: for the only things he did undertake, namely building the temple of Augustus, and restoring Pompey's Theatre, he left at last after many years unfinished." (Suet, Tib. Chap. XLVII).

Tiberius' connection with Capri lasted only during his declining years; he came here an old man, tired of life and its vanity, seeking relief from the anxieties of Empire, and the leisure to indulge his favourite pursuits of learning and astronomy. Is it likely or reasonable to suppose that, he would have "turned the island into a vast building area, with all the confusion attendant thereon: that he should have converted the harbour into a landing place for ships laden with building materials, and that the whole of the noisy activity consequent on building operations, the hammering of the stonemasons, the shouts of the load-drawing labourers, should have been allowed to disturb the much needed calm and quiet of the island?" (Weichardt p. 67).

Tacitus (Annals, 4, 67) uses these words; "Sed tum Tiberius duodecim villarum nominibus et molibus *insederat*". Now this single word "*insederat*" is absolutely the only stone, and a very feeble and fallible pebble, on which almost all previous writers have tried to build their theory, that "Tiberius built on Capri twelve palaces". Let us examine the exact meaning of the word: according to Smith's Latin Dictionary, the primary meaning of "*insederat*" is "to sit down,

or settle on ", (as birds perch " *in sessum diris avibus Capitolium* " Tac. A. 12, 43,). Secondly the word means, " to settle in a place, in order to dwell there ". Thirdly " to occupy, keep possession of a place ".

There is not a suggestion in any of these meanings, capable of supporting the assertion, that Tiberius built or erected a single Villa or Palace. The simple and obvious construction of the text is that he " took possession of certain villas, which had been previously erected ". It is of course possible that he may have changed or adapted some of these Villas to his own taste, which was very different from that of Augustus, who was of a genial sociable temperament and loved contact with his fellow-man.

The last visit of Augustus, of which we have any historical details, was paid by the Emperor when he was suffering from the disease (*diarrhœa*) to which he finally succumbed a few days later. But though shaken in health, and old, we find the Emperor still full of vivacity and simple enjoyment in the unsophisticated pleasures of others. " He went round the coast of Campania and the adjacent islands and spent four days in that of Capri, where he gave himself up entirely to repose and relaxation. Happening to sail by the bay of Puteoli, the passengers and mariners aboard a ship of Alexandria, just then arrived, clad all in white, with chaplets upon their heads, and offering him incense, loaded him with praises and joyful acclamation, crying out; " By you we live, by you we sail securely, by you we enjoy our liberty and our fortunes "; at which he being greatly pleased, distributed to each of those who attended him, forty gold pieces, requiring from each an

assurance on oath, not to employ the sum given them in any other way, than the purchase of Alexandrian merchandise. And during several days afterwards he distributed Togæ and Pallia, (the Toga was a loose woollen robe, which covered the whole body, close at the bottom, but open at the top down to the girdle, and without sleeves: the Pallium was a cloak generally worn by the Greeks both men and women) among other gifts, on condition that the Romans should use Greek, and the Greeks, the Roman dress and language. He likewise constantly attended to see the boys perform their exercises, according to an ancient custom still continued at Capri. He gave them likewise an entertainment in his presence; and not only permitted, but required from them the utmost freedom in jësting, and scrambling for fruit, victuals and other things which he threw amongst them. In a word he indulged himself in all the ways of amusement he could contrive ". (Suet. Aug. Chap. XCVIII).

Suetonius then proceeds to give us an account of the Emperor's interest in, and observations on, the company of people, who had assembled at the tomb of Megasbas, which will be found quoted in full, in the Chapter on Monacone.

A few days later, the kindly old citizen-Emperor, who had outlived the splendours of his youthful renown, lay dead in the arms of Livia at Nola. Thus we see, that to the very last days of his life, Augustus preserved not only his bright and happy spirits, but what is truly remarkable in a man of his age (in his seventy-sixth year,) suffering as he was from a depressing and disquieting disease, he joined with

the buoyant spirit of a bright ingenuous boy in the pranks of the Capri lads, and telling them to throw off all restraint, and to think of him as an equal, evidently derived much kindly amusement from their struggles to secure the best fruit, and the most precious prize. He was fond of games of chance, playing for small sums with the boys or with his friends.

"As soon as the civil wars were ended, he gave up riding and other military exercises in the Campus Martius, and took to playing at ball, or foot-ball: but soon afterwards used no other exercise than that of going abroad in his litter or walking. Towards the end of his walk he would run, leaping wrapped up in a short cloak or cape. For amusement he would sometimes angle, or play with dice, pebbles, or nuts, with little boys, and particulary Moors and Syrians, for their beauty or amusing talk". (Suet. Aug. Chap. LXXXIII).

His death came painlessly, and he was prepared for it.

"The closing scene of this illustrious life", says Dean Merivale, "has been portrayed for us with considerable minuteness. It is the first natural dissolution of a great man we have been called upon to witness, and it will be long, I may add, before we shall assist at another". ("Hist. of Romans", Merivale, vol. IV p. 288).

The following brief but excellent account of the end of Augustus is taken from Baring-Gould; "At Nola his exhaustion became so great that he was obliged to take to his bed. Here he was in the family house of the Octavian race, and he was placed in the very room

in which his father had died. The old Emperor did not deceive himself with hopes of recovery; he was short of his seventy-sixth birthday by only a little over a month. On the last day of his life, after inquiring whether his condition had aroused commotions in Rome, which he feared, knowing the hostility of the rival parties there, and being satisfied that there was tranquillity, he asked for a looking-glass, and had his hair put straight, and something done to his cheeks, that they might not appear as hollow as the dysentery had made them. Then, calling in his friends, and making them surround his bed, he asked whether they thought he had played his part well in the drama of life. He immediately added, in a Greek verse with which Roman plays usually concluded: " Let all applaud and clap their hands with joy ". After that he dismissed them and inquired of Livia, who remained at his side, whether any tidings had been heard of Livilla, the daughter of Drusus, who was out of health. Then suddenly he threw his arms round the neck of Livia, and kissing her, said, " Livia! live mindful of our union, and now farewell " ! " Then he gently expired without pain, and without a struggle. " (" Tragedy of Cæsars ", Baring-Gould, p. 220-221).

" By his peculiar personality, Augustus was able to stamp upon the Roman Empire a character which has never left it; he made a religion as well as a state; and it was due to his work, and to his sense of the sacredness of his work, that there are still men living in England, who cannot feel happy in the regulation of what they believe to be their most important concerns, unless they are assured that their actions are

in accordance with the dictates of the authority across the mountains which is resident in Rome. (" Tiberius the Tyrant ", Tarver, p. 140).

" The self-reliance of Augustus was justified by his success. He had resolved to raise himself to power, and he had succeeded. He had vowed to restore the moral features of the republic, and in this too he had, at least outwardly, succeeded. While however the lassitude of the Romans, and their disgust at the excesses of the times, had been the main cause of his success, another and more vulgar agent, one which it might seem to need no genius to wield had been hardly less efficacious: and this was simply his command of money. Throughout his long reign, Augustus was enabled to maintain a system of profuse liberality, partly by strict economy and moderation in his own habits, but more by the vast resources he had derived from his conquests. He was anxious to keep the springs of this abundance ever flowing, and he found means to engage the wealthiest of his subjects to feed them with gifts and legacies. The people were content to barter their freedom for shows and largesses, to accept forums and temples in place of conquests: and while their ruler directed his sumptuary laws against the magnificence of the nobles, because it threw a shade over the economy which his own necessities required, he cherished the most luxurious tastes among the people, and strained every nerve to satiate them with the appliances of indolent enjoyment, with baths and banquets, with galleries and libraries, with popular amusements and religious solemnities ". (" Hist. of the Romans ". Merivale (Bk. IV. p. 289 a 290).

CHAPTER VI

Capri under Tiberius.

" Oderint dum probent ". (Tiberius)

I will not attempt, in this work which is at best of a very cursory and unambitious character, to summarise the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, to enumerate either his political acts and reforms, or to detail the various campaigns that were undertaken, with more or less success, during his reign. My object is merely to attempt to present to the reader a fairly intelligible view of the Emperor Tiberius, as he was when he sought a retreat in Capri, after a long life of unusual trial and disappointment, to sketch his character, his appearance, his companions, his habits and tastes, and finally by quoting from writers whose reputation and authority is unimpeachable, to endeavour to clear his memory from that miasma of inhuman brutality and obscenity, which has been accepted without doubt by generation after generation of historians, and swallowed with docile credulity by countless readers. With this object in view I will divide this chapter into eight heads.

1. His reasons for leaving Rome.
2. His reasons for choosing Capri.

3. His appearance, habits, and tastes.
4. His companions in Capri.
5. His death.
6. His character, and how it was affected by the disappointments of his life.
7. Our reasons for declining to accept the estimate of the character of Tiberius, as portrayed by Suetonius and Tacitus.
8. Conclusions arrived at from a study of the busts, cameos, and reliefs of Tiberius.

1 – *His reasons for leaving Rome.*

At the time when Tiberius finally determined to leave Rome he was well advanced in years, being sixty-seven years of age, and the state of his health was far from satisfactory: he appears to have suffered from a kind of eczema, his face was so disfigured by sores and eruptions that it was impossible for him to appear in public. The Romans, like the Italians of to-day, are singularly susceptible to beauty, and peculiarly repelled by whatever jars on their sensitive love of what is pleasing and attractive to the senses. The unfortunate Emperor, whenever he appeared in public was greeted by the jeers and heartless outspoken comments of a sharp-tongued and satirical people, who would never lose a " bon mot " merely because it gave pain.

" Till the year in which his son Drusus had died, Tiberius had hardly quitted Rome. For two whole years after he became prince, he never even set foot outside the gates; and after that he allowed himself but short periods of relaxation from work, and never went further than Antium, there to inhale the fresh air from the sea, and he never remained there for more than a

few days. Yet he felt a craving for country air and rest, and so often spoke of his intention of taking a holiday that the Romans in joke called him a Callipides "always on the run, but never advancing a step". Wearied with the burden of government, and no longer animated with the thought that he was working to consolidate the empire for his son, knowing that his successor was inspired by the party about him with dislike towards himself, and that minds were poisoned against him, sick at heart over the revelation of the falsehoods circulated relative to his private life, and looking back to the restful period in Rhodes, he suddenly turned his back on Rome and went into Campania, on the plea that he must dedicate a couple of temples there, one of which was at Nola where Augustus had died". ("Tragedy of Cæsars", Baring-Gould. p. 315).

The natural bent of a mind such as Tiberius possessed was towards seclusion and scholarly leisure, this he proved by his early retirement to Rhodes, which so exasperated Augustus as nearly to ruin his future career. Unlike Augustus, Tiberius had never been popular with the people, he did not lavish vast sums of money on gladiatorial shows, he had no natural "bonhomie", none of the democratic stirring spirit, ever ready with a friendly recognition or familiar joke, which, then as now, endears a ruler to his people, and seats him more firmly in the hearts of his subjects, than unflinching success in war, or rigid justice meted out with the unwavering hand of equity, but without a sympathetic smile.

Tiberius with his sensitive nervous woman's chin, and that want of determination noticeable in his lower

face, was rather a student and a pedant than a man of action: he was also somewhat of a mystic and dreamer. He doubtless often recalled with mingled feelings of pain and pleasure (the pleasure however largely predominating) the peaceful, simple, uneventful years he had passed at Rhodes, and from which he had so reluctantly severed himself, not from any ambitious desire to take part in the government of the Empire, but solely at the call of what he considered his duty, and to relieve his patron Augustus from the almost intolerable load of State. Tiberius must have felt that he had indeed sacrificed enough of his fast-waning life to the harassing and thankless cares of office. What had been his reward? " Every one he had trusted had failed him. His first wife he had been told had been unfaithful to him; his second wife he knew had been untrue. His adopted sons had turned against him in revolt. His mother had dealt him the cruelest blow conceivable in showing him that Augustus, whom he had revered and loved, had disliked him. Drusus, his own son, had caused him anxiety, and then had been snatched from him. The senate, the Roman people, for whom he had lived and laboured, inspired him with contempt and disgust at their servility and changeableness ". (" Tragedy of Caesars ". Baring-Gould. p. 338).

" The love of retirement, manifest in Tiberius when he went to Rhodes, that shyness which he was never able to cast off, weariness with the cabals of the capital ever reformed as fast as broken, combined to make Tiberius, as he felt his powers fail, and when troubled with physical disorder, seek a refuge out of the current of Roman life, where, nevertheless, he could control

the course of public affairs. But a man of his temperament and reserve was so incomprehensible to the Roman society-man, that he was driven to invent reasons satisfactory to himself to explain this voluntary banishment ". (" Tragedy of Cæsars ", Baring-Gould, p. 348).

Tacitus tells us, that Tiberius retired to Capri through the machinations of Sejanus. " He adopted the expedient of urging the emperor to pass his time in some agreeable situation far from Rome. From this counsel he foresaw many advantages: upon himself would depend all access to the emperor; the letters would, as the soldiers were the carriers, be for the most part under his direction; in a little time the prince now declining in years, and enervated by retirement, would more easily transfer to him the whole charge of the empire: the envy felt towards himself would be diminished by getting rid of the crowd of visitors, and though the empty parade of power was removed, he would possess more of its essentials. He therefore began by little and little to rail at the hurry of business at Rome, the throng of people, the conflux of suitors, applauding retirement and quiet, which afford the greatest facilities for deliberation on the most important matters, unwearied by importunities and unexposed to annoyance from the dissatisfied ". (Tacitus. Ann. IV c. 41).

2 — *His reasons for choosing Capri.*

After leaving Rome Tiberius passed through Campania, and dedicated the capitol at Capua and a temple to Augustus at Nola, at which place Augustus had died. Finally he made his escape from official duties and joyfully directed his galleys to head for Capri, the

haven of repose on which he had long ago fixed his attention, as his final retreat.

Suetonius tells us that he selected Capri, "being greatly delighted with the island because it was accessible only by a narrow beach, being on all sides surrounded with rugged cliffs, of a stupendous height and by deep sea". (Suetonius, Tib. Chap. XL). This statement that the island of Capri had only one beach, which was accessible for boats, may at first sight seem difficult to reconcile with our knowledge of Capri today; but the reader must bear in mind the fact (which is discussed at greater length in the Chapter on Geology, and in that on the Blue Grotto) that during the Roman occupation the sea level was eighteen to twenty feet lower than it is today, and consequently the shelving spaces, which to-day serve as landing places, were at that period low cliffs on which a boat could not be beached.

We will again quote from Tacitus; "I am strongly inclined to believe that he was taken with its perfect solitude, for the sea in its neighbourhood is void of havens, and the stations even for smaller vessels are few, while none could put in unperceived by the coast-guards. The temperature of the climate is mild in winter, from the shelter of a mountain, which intercepts the rigour of the winds: its summers are refreshed by gales from the west, and are rendered delightful from the wide expanse of sea which the island commands: before the fiery eruptions of Mount Vesuvius had changed the face of the country, there was also a prospect of the lovely bay of Naples". (Tacitus, Ann. IV. c. 67).

Besides the advantages above enumerated the Emperor would obviously seek as his place of retirement a spot sufficiently accessible to Rome; the extreme healthfulness of the island, the absence of extremes of heat and cold, and the absence of dust would tend to the alleviation of the distressing disease from which he suffered.

We learn from Suetonius that one of the companions whom Tiberius chose to accompany him in his retirement was Thrasyllus, the mathematician and astrologer, and we may well assume that the Emperor anticipated pursuing with pleasure, and under most favourable circumstances, his favourite study of astronomy, from the elevated rocks and hills of his mountainous retreat.

" The island was as though constituted by nature to be a resting-place for a lord of the world, with mind clouded by painful experiences, who desired to withdraw from the public eye, and yet had no intention of allowing the reins of government to be taken from his hands. It is accessible at one point only, easily secured: everywhere else its limestone cliffs start sheer out of the blue sea to a height of a thousand feet. This gave the old emperor security against attack. Moreover the station of the fleet was at Misenum, two hours distant, and it was separated from Surrentum on the Campanian coast, by a channel six miles wide ". (" Tragedy of Cæsars. " Baring-Gould. p. 317).

Dean Merivale remarks; " While few other spots could have combined the requisites of solitude and difficult approach with such actual proximity to the seat of government, Tiberius was not insensible to the

charms of its climate, and even the attractions of its scenery: to the freshness of its evening breeze, the coolness of its summers, and the pleasing mildness of its winters. The villas he erected enjoyed every variety of prospect, commanded every breath of air, and caught the rays of the sun at every point of his diurnal course. From the heights of Capreae the eye comprehended at one glance the whole range of the Italian coast from the promontory of Circe to the temples of Pæstum, clearly visible through the transparent atmosphere. The Falernian and Gaurian ridges, teeming with the noblest vineyards of Italy, the long ridges of the Samnite Apennines, even to the distant Lucanian mountains, formed the framework of the picture, while Vesuvius reared its then level crest, yet unscarred by lava directly in the centre. Facing the south the spectator gazed on the expanse of the Sicilian sea. So wide is the horizon that it is, perhaps no fiction that at some favorable moments the outline of the fiery isles of Æolus, and even of Sicily itself are within the range of vision". ("History of Romans", Merivale, vol. V. p. 205).

3 — *His appearance, habits and tastes.*

As a young man Tiberius must have been extremely handsome, he was tall, well proportioned and broad shouldered. From the numerous statues and busts that have survived to us we can see that he had a broad brow, his mouth was nervous, refined and sensitive: he had a weak chin, and large sad looking eyes: his nose was delicate and intellectual. The following description of him in his youth is quoted from Suetonius. "In person he was large and robust of a

stature somewhat above the common size: broad in his shoulders and chest, and proportionable in the rest of his frame. He used his left hand more readily and with more force than his right, and his joints were so strong that he could bore a fresh sound apple through with his finger, and wound the head of a boy with a fillip. He was of a fair complexion, and wore his hair so long behind, that it covered his neck, which was observed to be a mark of distinction affected by his family. He had a handsome face, but it was often full of pimples. His eyes, which were large had a wonderful faculty of seeing in the night-time and in the dark for a short time only, and immediately after waking from sleep. He walked with his neck stiff and upright: generally with a frowning countenance, being for the most part silent: and usually accompanied with a slight gesticulation of his fingers ". (Suet. Tib. LXVIII).

In his old age a less attractive portrait is given by Tacitus. " He was exceedingly emaciated, tall and stooping, his head bald, his face ulcerous and thickly patched with plasters ". (Tacitus, Ann, 4, 57,).

The elder Pliny in speaking of the peculiarity of his sight says; " This Cæsar alone among all men had the faculty of seeing for a few moments after waking in the night, as clearly as by day, but soon after all grew dark again ". (Plin, Nat. Hist. XI, 37). His health was sound, " during almost the whole period of his reign, though from his thirtieth year he treated himself according to his own discretion, without any medical aid ". (Suet. Tib. LXVIII). Tiberius was a bad patron of the medical fraternity, and used to say

" Those are poor creatures, who after having passed their thirtieth year, need other advice than their own experience to tell them what is good, and what is bad for their health ".

Like our own George III the emperor's tastes in his diet were simple and frugal, he loved vegetables especially cucumbers, parsnips, asparagus and a vegetable, which from the description of Pliny, must have been brussels-sprouts. In his old age he drank only Surrentine wine, and he was very partial to a special variety of dried African grape.

Like all highly educated men of his day, he was thoroughly conversant with Greek, and himself composed some Greek poems in imitation of Euphoriion, Rhianus, and Parthenius: he considered it however an affectation to use Greek in the senate-house, and if forced to employ a Greek word, apologised for its use. " His principal study was the history of the fabulous ages, inquiring even into its trifling details in a ridiculous manner ". (Suet. Tib. LXX).

He was well skilled in astronomy, and his constant companion during his retirement to Rhodes was Thrasyllus the mathematician, who was also with him in Capri. Tacitus, tells us, that by means of his wonderful knowledge of astrology, he predicted that Galba would some day be emperor, using these words in Greeek; " And thou Galba shalt hereafter taste of Empire ". (Tac. Ann. 6, 20).

4 — *His companions in Capri.*

The old Emperor wearied with the servile adulation of a crowd of sycophants, and fully convinced of the treachery and infidelity of mankind in general, naturally

brought with him to Capri but a slender retinue, and those all tried friends. Tacitus mentions their names: Cocceius Nerva, a senator of consular rank, who was the greatest lawyer of his day in Rome; Sejanus, and Curtius Atticus, a friend of Ovid who afterwards was ruined by Sejanus. "The rest were men of letters, chiefly Greeks, whose conversation might amuse him". (Tac. Ann. 4. c. 58 and Suet. Tib. LVI). In addition he had with him Caligula and Gemellus, as well as Livilla and her daughter Julia, and after A. D. 35 the wife of Caligula.

5 — *His death.*

Tiberius expired in the seventy - ninth year of his age at the Villa of Lucullus at Misenum. Suetonius says; "He fell ill at Astura: but recovering a little, went on to Circeii. And to obviate any suspicion of his being in a bad state of health, he was not only present at the sports in the camp, but encountered with javelins a wild boar, which was let loose in the arena. Being immediately seized with a pain in the side, and catching cold upon his over-heating himself in the exercise, he relapsed into a worse condition than he was before. He held out, however, for some time, and sailing as far as Misenum, omitted nothing in his usual mode of life, not even in his entertainments, and other gratifications, partly from an ungovernable appetite, and partly to conceal his condition. For Charicles, a physician, having obtained leave of absence, on his rising from the table, took his hand to kiss it: upon which Tiberius, supposing he did it to feel his pulse, desired him to stay and resume his place, and continued the entertainment longer than usual. Nor did he

omit his usual custom of taking his station in the centre of the apartment, a lictor standing by him, while he took leave of the party by name". (Suet. Tib. LXXII). Suetonius quoting from some lost work of Seneca says; " finding himself dying he took his signet ring off his finger, and held it a while as if he would deliver it to somebody, but put it again on his finger, and lay for some time with his left hand clenched and without stirring, when suddenly summoning his attendants and no one answering the call, he rose: but his strength failing him, he fell down at a short distance from his bed ". (Suet. Tib. LXXIII).

Tacitus supplies us with the following painful story of the termination of a life that seems never to have been devoid of a tragic strain; " Charicles however had assured Macro that life was ebbing fast, and could not outlast two days. Hence the whole court was in a bustle with consultations, and expresses were despatched to the generals and armies. On the seventeenth before the calends of April, he was believed to have finished his mortal career, having ceased to breathe, and Caligula in the midst of a great throng of people paying their congratulations, was already going forth to make a solemn entrance on the sovereignty, when suddenly a notice came that " Tiberius had recovered his sight and voice, and had called for some persons to give him food to restore him ". The consternation was universal: the concourse about Caligula dispersed in all directions, every man affecting sorrow or feigned ignorance: he himself stood fixed in silence, — fallen from the highest hopes, he now expected the worst. Macro, undismayed, ordered the old man to be smothered

with a quantity of clothes, and the doorway to be closed. Thus Tiberius expired in the seventy-eighth year of his age ". (Tacitus. Ann. 6, 50).

The following passage from Baring-Gould, which is a condensation of the report of Josephus, (Joseph. Ant. Jud. XVIII. 6-9.) is not without interest, describing, as it does, the dying Emperor's last meeting with his grandson and successor Caligula; it also throws a curious light on the superstitions side of Tiberius; " He retired to his room feeling weak and exhausted, and bade Evodius, the most confidential of his freedmen, bring his two grand-children to him betimes the next morning. After having given directions, he prayed the gods to make known to him by some token, which of the two they destined to succeed him. For the old man's mind was perplexed, knowing the evil nature and crazed head of the elder of the princes, and knowing also how impossible it would be for the boy Gemellus to maintain himself at the head of affairs. Accordingly he asked that the sign of the will of the gods should be, that he who was called to empire, should first enter his room. Then, so goes the tale, in his anxiety to control, if possible, the decree of the gods, he bade the tutor of Gemellus make sure and bring his charge to him as early as possible. But the younger boy, dawdling over his meal, was forestalled by Caligula, who first entered the room of the dying man. Tiberius received the token with a sad heart, and said to Caius, " My son, although Tiberius (Gemellus) is nearer to myself than you are, yet both of my own choice and in obedience to the gods, I commend the empire of Rome into your hands ". Then

he earnestly adjured the truculent lad to love his young and unprotected kinsman, and enforced his words by a solemn warning of the perils of the position to which he was about to be raised, and the punishments which the gods send on the ungrateful ". (" Tragedy of the Cæsars. " (Baring-Gould. p. 376).

We have from the hand of Suetonius the following account of the contents of the will of Tiberius. " He had made about two years before duplicates of his will, one written by his own hand, and the other by that of one of his freedmen: and both witnessed by some persons of mean rank. He appointed his two grandsons, Caius by Germanicus, and Tiberius by Drusus, joint heirs of his estate; and upon the death of one of them, the other to inherit the whole. He gave likewise many legacies: amongst which were bequests to the Vestal Virgins, to all the soldiers, and each one of the people of Rome, and to the Magistrates of the several quarters of the city ". (Suet. Tib. LXXVI).

6 — *His character, and how it was affected by the disappointments of his life.*

In attempting to estimate with rigid fairness and with a total absence of bias the true character of Tiberius, what strikes the intelligent and receptive reader with most force, is not so much the complexity, the contradictions, or inconstancies of the character of Tiberius, as the manner in which his mind, originally full of loveable and amiable qualities, was warped and perverted by the singularly unfortunate relations with those on whom he was most dependant, and who were brought most closely into his inner life.

The historian of today who is acceptable to the modern student of history, and who will be capable of gaining his confidence, must needs possess, like the successful palmist or phrenologist, many powers, chief of which must be the capacity of balancing cause and effect, he will find that certain conditions on the one side are balanced or, it may be, over-balanced by certain conditions of a totally different character, so that the result we should expect is not arrived at, but a diametrically opposite conclusion is reached. The student of a past day demanded, and was naturally accommodated with, a series of historical electric shocks (if the flippancy of the expression may be pardoned); each leading character was portrayed in brilliant colours, red or black, with striking vividness, and no uncertainty of touch. The "dramatis personae" were either paragons of every conceivable virtue, or were steeped to the lips in vitriol streams of abhorrent vice. But it was indispensable that the vivid colours must, in order to satisfy the requirements of the student and secure the fame of the author, be clothed in rich oratorical English, or in terse clear-cut phrases. To-day the spirit of analysis and hyper-analysis is rampant. We weigh and balance motives and actions, and their causes and effects; to-day the writer of the novel of mental dissection reaps a rich harvest, and the up-to-date reader turns with nausea from deeds, exploits, perils, or action, to the more intellectual, though possibly less healthy study, of intricate analysis of character. To-day too the iconoclast holds high his head, we have thrown down our old gods, broken them in pieces, and melted their graven images, and out of the molten mass of our quon-

dam divinities, have fashioned brand new gods, to whom we are willing to bow down and sacrifice.

As a young man, the character of Tiberius was distinguished by many noble and admirable features, which marked him out as a successful leader of men. He had a strong sense of duty, he was brave, vigorous and conscientious, and showed an extraordinary aptitude for affairs. He was accused of pride, but this arose rather from awkwardness and shyness, and in his actual conduct of affairs, he showed himself retiring and diffident, and in his relations with the Senate actually democratic. He was over critical and distrustful of others, feeling no confidence in his power to please, neither possessing or caring to cultivate the art of winning approbation, he gave his friendship reluctantly, slowly, hesitatingly. But like many another shy, critical, suspicious man of our own day and acquaintance, when he had made up his mind to offer his friendship, confidence or love, he gave with all his heart and without reserve. Having however given with all his heart, and given the more abundantly, because he resembled the dull moth, rather than the bright hued butterfly, when he found his friendship thrown back upon him, repudiated, and scorned, when he found his love betrayed, and his motives misjudged, then he retired into himself.

The effect of such an experience on a man possessing the nature we have attributed to Tiberius, *may* make him a dangerous vindictive tyrant, with an errand of revenge against all mankind, or he *may* become an agnostic, mystic or cynical misanthrope, who seeks compensation for his failure to win his fellow-man, in study, in licence, in cruelty, or in religion. We shall

endeavour to prove fact by fact, the statements we have advanced in this brief, and necessarily incomplete summary, by carefully chosen quotations from writers of well known reputation, and believe that if the reader will have the patience to continue this chapter to the end, his estimate of the character of Tiberius will be, if not completely changed, at any rate considerably modified.

" In estimating Tiberius, we must take into account the circumstances of his life, and also the character of the witnesses who have recorded his reign. A Claudian both on the father's and on the mother's side, descended from the Neros to whom, as Horace sang Rome owed so much, he had all the pride of his patrician house. He was strong, tall, well-made, with a fair complexion, and long hair profuse at the back of his head — a characteristic of the Claudii. He had unusually large eyes, and a serious expression. In his youth he was called " the old man ", so thoughtful was he, and slow to speak. He had a strong sense of duty, and a profound contempt for the multitude. The spirit of his ancestress, the Claudia who uttered the wish that her brother were alive again, to lose another fleet and make the streets of Rome less crowded, had in some measure descended upon Tiberius. He was, as the originally Sabine name Nero signified, brave and vigorous, and had a conspicuous aptitude for the conduct of affairs. But he was too critical to have implicit confidence in himself: and he was suspicious of others. His self-distrust was increased by the circumstance of his early manhood. His reserved manner, unlike the geniality of his brother Drusus, could not win the affection

of his stepfather Augustus, who regarded his peculiarities as faults: and when he was young enough to have ambition, he was made use of indeed, but he never enjoyed imperial favour. Kept, when possible, in the second place, he was always meeting rebuffs. He was forced to divorce Vipsania and marry Julia, who brought him nothing but shame. Thus the circumstances of his life, and his relations to his stepfather were calculated to deepen his reserve, to embitter his feelings, and produce a habit of dissimulation: so that there is little wonder that a man of his cold, diffident nature should not have won the affections of subjects whom he did not deign to conciliate. On the other hand his diffidence made him dependent on others, first on Livia, and then on Sejanus, who proved his evil genius". (* History of Roman Empire ". Bury. Chap. XIII).

Dean Merivale remarks: " He was in fact, one of those very unamiable men, who subject their conduct to harsh interpretations from mere perverseness of temper, and the dislike and distrust they create in the breasts of those around them ".

Baring-Gould adds: " The lack of amiability in Tiberius was due to his being self-enclosed: slighted, thrust aside in youth and early manhood, he had been obliged to conceal his wounded feelings, and when he was suddenly elevated to the throne this reserve was so inveterate that he could not shake it off. He found himself an object of harsh and spiteful comment, found himself accused of monstrous crimes of which he was guiltless, found himself out of harmony with the light-headed Roman people. Grave, sad, thoughtful, and sensitive to every form of unkindness he gave umbrage

to the people because the gladiatorial shows that delighted them bred in him disgust: he offended the nobility because he would speak plain homely Latin in the senate instead Greek, and treated their Hellenisation of speech and manners and morals with undisguised disdain". ("Tragedy of the Cæsars", Baring-Gould. p. 284).

His very unhappy experience of women Baring-Gould comments on as follows:—"Tiberius was brought into contact with three women in his own family of remarkable character, against whom he had to contend in secret, and who conspired to render his life one of trouble. His wife Julia, dishonored him openly, and he was unable to resist her secret machinations against him with her father. His mother Livia, had held him in bonds, then let him go from under her control, and then again tried to master him. Lastly, Agrippina his niece, used all her power, her influence, her position, to break down the confidence his subjects had in him, and to alienate their heart from him. When he had her before him, with her defiant face, her eyes glaring with anger, her brows knitted, when he heard her deep voice quiver with ill-suppressed animosity, he felt that she was the worst enemy with whom he had to contend". ("Tragedy of the Cæsars". Baring-Gould, p. 305),

"The pride which so many believed they saw in his manner — he showed no pride in his conduct—was due to his natural shyness. . . . His awkwardness of holding himself and of address was due to the same cause: in youth he was reprimanded for it, and what must have hurt him greatly, heard his adopted father apologise to the senate for it. There can be no question but that his wife Julia cast it insultingly in his

teeth. He was at his ease only among students and philosophers, or in camp. He never associated with ladies after his separation from Vipsania. The only exception to this was his visits to the worthy Antonia, whom he ever loved and respected for her virtues. But these visits were infrequent. Perhaps he distrusted women: he had certainly cause to do so . . . , When he became emperor he knew that all he said and all he did were turned into mockery and cruelly perverted. He was driven to shut up his own thoughts and sorrows in his own heart. But this sense of being ever the observed with intent to take occasion against him, increased his awkwardness". ("Tragedy of the Cæsars", Baring-Gould, p. 379).

The last blow to his faith in mankind came when Sejanus, whom he had loved and trusted as a friend, proved traitor and turned against him, "Now his last, his only stay was taken from him, and his solitude was absolute. Every one he had trusted had failed him. His first wife he had been told had been unfaithful to him: his second wife he knew had been untrue.

His mother had dealt him the cruellest blow conceivable in showing him that Augustus, whom he had revered and loved, had disliked and ridiculed him.

Drusus his own son had caused him anxiety and then had been suddenly snatched from him. The senate, the Roman people, for whom he had lived, and laboured, inspired him with contempt and disgust at their servility and changeableness. He had trusted Sejanus, and his friend had proved false—how false he now had revealed to him,—unexpectedly, to add to his

despair and misery ". (" Tragedy of the Cæsars ", Baring-Gould, p. 338).

It would be difficult to close this estimate of the character of Tiberius more appropriately than by transcribing the following beautiful and comprehensive passage from the " Tiberius " of Adolp Stahr. " It was in his own family that misfortune first struck him, and afterwards pursued him through life. History shows us no sovereign who was so unhappy in his domestic relations as was Tiberius. Even as a boy he was placed in a difficult position, by the separation of his parents, and by his adoption into the imperial family, where he was regarded as an unwelcome intruder, and was surrounded by the dislike and exposed to the disrespect of its privileged members. His first happy marriage was violently broken that a woman might be forced on him who brought shame and dishonour on his head. After this marriage was at an end, he remained from his thirty-fifth year to the end of his days unmarried and alone. His only brother, whom he tenderly loved, the handsome, heroic Drusus, was taken from him by death. So also his only son, and he had to learn that the wife of this son had been his murderess, and further that the daughter of this son likewise betrayed her husband to Sejanus. His kinsfolk of the Julian branch, Agrippina and her sons paid him with black ingratitude for all the care he took of them, and the unhappy old man had good cause when considering them, to liken himself, in more than one particular to Priam. The treachery of Sejanus finally filled up the picture of measureless misfortune and sorrow which is revealed to us, when we consider

this life, and which at moments drew from the restrained heart of the great sufferer a cry of despair, of doubt in gods and men. If the gloomy earnestness of his temper was intensified finally into contempt for mankind, the only wonder is that this took place so late *.

7 — *Our reasons for declining to accept the estimate of the character of Tiberius, as portrayed by Suetonius and Tacitus.*

There is a limit to the credulity even of the student of history, and that limit has been reached, when we are requested to accept without reservation, the extraordinary contradictions concerning the earlier and later periods of the reign of Tiberius, as served up to us by Suetonius and Tacitus. Only two alternatives are open to us; either that Tiberius in his later life became deranged, or else we must reject the accuracy of the accounts of Suetonius and Tacitus, by showing that their evidence was tainted by prejudice. "That a man close on seventy should suddenly change his habits is incredible, unless we are to assume the existence of a hideous form of senile dementia, whose victim is to be pitied rather than condemned *." ("Tiberius the Tyrant" Tarver, p. 422).

* All accounts of the licentious abominations committed by Tiberius are referred to his life from his seventy-fourth to his seventy-ninth year, and to a time when he was suffering from the break-up of his constitution and from continuous ill-health. All the scandalous stories refer to the retreat to Capreae. The Romans could not comprehend how a man should care to live away from Rome. To be away from the

capital, its shows, its festivals, its scandal, was to be out of the world — death were preferable ". (" Tragedy of the Cæsars ", Baring-Gould, p. 348).

" If we accept the stories of Suetonius and Tacitus of the dissolute morals of Tiberius in his old age, then we must suppose that he was deranged. This is an easy method of reconciling the contradictions of the historians. But before accepting these stories we may well ask for some better evidence than Roman gossip and lampoon, and there is no other on which the historian and biographer based their charges. And, before pronouncing Tiberius to have been insane we must have better grounds to go on than the desire to save the reputation of Tacitus and his jackal. There was derangement in the Julian, not in the Claudian stock ". (" Tragedy of the Cæsars ", Baring-Gould, p. 374).

" For twenty-four years — from the age of forty-four till he was sixty-eight — he had lived in the midst of a scandal-loving people, eager to discover a blemish in the life of a ruler, and nothing had been found in him that could furnish a paragraph in the " chronique scandaleuse ". But now that he was gone, accompanied as before when he went to Rhodes, by a few learned men, the fervid and foul mind of Rome set to work to invent every loathsome detail that imagination could create, and to circulate it as the record of the old man in his solitary retreat ". (" Tragedy of the Cæsars " Baring-Gould, p. 316).

In weighing the value of legal evidence the first duty of the lawyer is to examine carefully whether the testimony of the witness is tainted: whether in other

words, the witness has any known cause for exhibiting "animus", for or against the accused. The same rule applies to the value of historical evidence; no sane student of history would seek from an avowed Tory an impartial estimate of a great Whig leader, or would expect an ardent Southerner, whose family has been ruined and brought low by the great war between the North and South, to paint a flattering or impartial picture of a Northern chief. Suetonius, it must be remembered, wrote fifty or sixty years after the death of Tiberius, it must also be borne in mind that he was, as Voltaire says, an "anecdote-collector" or gossip-monger, and that belonging, as he did, to the Senatorial or anti-monarchical party, it was part of his "rôle" to represent the Emperors one and all in the least attractive light.

"Tacitus wrote under the influence of a reaction against the imperial system, and he lays himself out to blacken the character of all the Emperors prior to Nerva. The dark character of Tiberius, and a certain mystery which surrounded his acts and motives, lent themselves well to the design of the skilful historian, who gathered up all sorts of popular rumours and stories imparting crime to the exile of Capreae". ("Roman Empire", Bury, Chap. XIII).

Baring-Gould says of Tacitus; "With regard to his stand-point there can be no question. He viewed the past from that of the aristocratic-republican party, and his estimate of the Cæsars is unfavourable, because through them that party was deprived of its influence, power, and means of accumulating wealth. He indeed disclaims the intention of writing with partiality, never-

theless his own feelings were deeply engaged and he wrote for readers who were members of that oligarchy ". (" Tragedy of Caesars ", Baring-Gould, p. 646). Again quoting from Baring-Gould; " According to the representations of Tacitus, the life of Tiberius was one of dissimulation till he reached the age of seventy-three: first, because he feared Augustus: secondly, because he feared his mother Livia; thirdly, because he feared his favourite minister Sejanus. The theory carries absurdity on its face: nevertheless Tacitus adopted it for want of a better, and set to work to accomodate facts to fit into this theory. The manner in which he does so is more ingenious than honest ". (" Tragedy of the Cæsars ", Baring-Gould, p. 650).

In addition to this we know Tacitus had access to the memoirs of Agrippina, the younger, the daughter of Agrippina the wife of Germanicus, who doubtless draws her information from Agrippina the elder, whose " bitter animosity against the memory of Tiberius and all members of the Claudian stock not closely related to herself, is well known ". (" Tiberius the Tyrant ", Tarver p. 266).

One of the scandals at Capri was the presence of a number of young people of both sexes: but in this fact there is nothing that should arouse in the unprejudiced mind the least ground for suspicion. Owing to his position as Emperor, Tiberius was guardian to many children, and it was according to Roman custom that these children should accompany, and be educated under his eye and personal supervision.

In addition to these wards of the Empire " Tiberius had brought to Capreae the two boys, Caligula

and Gemellus, to live there under his supervision. Moreover, there resided with him in his villa, both Lavilla and her daughter Julia; also, after A. D. 35, the young wife of Caligula. Is it conceivable that the old man should have surrounded himself with his young relatives to witness his debauches? " (*"Tragedy of Cæsars"*, Baring-Gould, pp. 348 349).

The later exponents of Christianity in order to present a vivid and striking contrast between the purity of Chistianity and the turgid lust and licence of the Empire, distorted into evil, and collected all the incriminating details in regard to the Roman Emperors. "Tiberius himself had in this aspect the misfortune to be the contemporary of the founder of Christianity, and in the idle tales of Suetonius and the studied malignity of Tacitus an opportunity was found for starting the contrast from the commencement". (*"Tiberius the Tyrant"*, Tarver, p. 430).

The first to throw doubt on the disagreeable narratives of cruelty and licence supposed to have been indulged in by Tiberius during his sojourn at Capri was Voltaire. "I have often said to myself, in reading Tacitus and Suetonius: are all these atrocious extravagances attributed to Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, actual facts? Can I believe on the testimony of one man, who lived a long time after Tiberius, that the emperor, when nearly eighty years old, who had lived a life decent to austerity, that this emperor spent his time at Capri in debauches which would make a young rake blush? Can I be sure that he changed the throne of the world into a common stew in a manner unknown to the most dissolute youths? The abominations related of

him are in their nature incredible. An old man, an emperor observed of all who approach him, with the eyes of the whole world fixed searchingly upon him, is he to be accused of such inconceivable infamy without proper evidence? Where are the proofs produced by Suetonius? There are none. Who has ever seen an old judge, chancellor, king, assemble about him a hundred attendants to partake with him in such abominable orgies, to be an object of ridicule, of contempt to them?..... The hard and crafty Tiberius was execrated; and because in his advanced old age he retired to Capri, it was at once alleged that he had gone there to devote himself to the most unworthy debauches..... I presume that the malicious Tacitus, and that anecdote-collector Suetonius, tasted supreme satisfaction in decrying their masters at a time when nobody troubled himself to discuss the truth of what was told. Our copyists of all countries have repeated these baseless tales. They resemble not a little the historians of the Middle Ages who followed the dreams of the monks. These latter blasted the reputations of all the princes who did not give them largess, and so Tacitus and Suetonius set themselves to render odious the whole family of the oppressor Octavius ". (*" Le Pyrrhonisme de l'histoire "*, Oeuvres de Voltaire).

Those who would make themselves more fully informed, as to the evidence that exists, to doubt the truthfulness of the testimony of Tacitus against Tiberius, should consult the works of three very competent scholars: — Sievers — *" Studien zur Geschichte der Römischen Kaiser "*; Freytag — *" Tiberius und Tacitus "*; — Stahr — *" Tiberius "*.

8 — *Conclusions arrived at from a study of the busts, cameos, and reliefs of Tiberius.*

Attempting, as we have been, throughout this chapter to gather every tittle of evidence that may throw a gleam of light on the very contradictory qualities of the character of Tiberius, it would be manifestly unjust and incomplete on our part to ignore the evidence of the numerous busts, which are known to us. The study of phrenology and physiognomy has long emerged from the empiric stage, and deserves now to be considered as a science. There are in existence and known to us over forty busts of Tiberius, but while examining and comparing the prominent features conspicuous in each, the student must be careful not to accept blindly and without discrimination and comparison every so-called bust of Tiberius. For instance there is considerable doubt as to the authenticity of the so called veiled bust of Tiberius as Pontifex Maximus or Augur, now in the British Museum, and which was found in Capri and sold to the Governors of the British Museum in 1873. This bust differs in so many respects, especially in the chin and lower face, and has indeed so few points of resemblance in common with the undoubted busts or statues of the Emperor, that to say the least, it would be most rash to draw any inference of character therefrom.

In comparing the portraits of Augustus and Tiberius", says M. Mayor, "we observe essential differences. The skull of Tiberius is squarer. The expression is less false, less cunning, but much more powerful. The width between the parietal bones — great in Augustus — is enormous in Tiberius. The nose is

larger, stronger in structure, more blunted. The jaw is more powerful, more salient. The ears heavier and more projecting. The chin well marked, with a dent".

Bernoulli, the greatest authority on Roman portraiture says; "About the delicate mouth plays a smile of superiority, whilst, perhaps hard thoughts slumber under the brow. The preponderating expression in the face is one of nobility, far removed from indicating such a character as Tacitus described".

Baring-Gould remarks; "There remain over forty statues and busts of Tiberius, and we are able to form a very tolerable conception of the appearance of the emperor when in his prime of vigour and beauty. They all show us a singularly broad brow, lofty, the forehead advancing. The nose is finely moulded and thin, well bridged; the face wide at the cheek-bones, but thence rapidly narrowing to a small chin. The mouth is refined and beautiful, drawn back between the nose and projecting chin. The skull is flat, or with a very low arch, and in this it is as different as possible from the head of Julius Caesar. The flatness of the skull is sometimes disguised by the hair being heaped up on the top, or by a civic crown. The width in the head of Caesar was between the ears; that in Tiberius is between the temples. The brows are not arched but straight, except in early years. There was no attempt made by the artists to Grecise the face of Tiberius, which diverges widely from the Greek type of beauty. He was represented in the fullness of manhood long after he had begun to be old, but no attempt was made to rectify the angles of his face, and to straighten

his nose into line with the brow. The lower lip retreats, and is small. There is no projection of the upper lip. Indeed the breadth of brow, the rapid narrowing to the small chin, and the peculiar mouth are the three characteristics of the head of Tiberius that distinguish it ". ("Tragedy of the Cæsars", Baring-Gould, p. 378).

CHAPTER VII.

Capri in the Middle Ages ; and more recent times.

After the death of Tiberius, Capri instead of being the favourite and play thing of Emperors, became for many centuries the happy hunting-ground of Corsairs. It is true that occasional flashes of royal distinction shone upon her shores, but they were brief and transient ; for instance, the Emperor Caligula at the age of twenty, assumed the manly " toga " and shaved his head at Capri on the same day. (Suet. Cal. Chap. XI).

We learn from Dion, that the Emperor Commodus sent his wife Crispina, and his sister Lucilla, as exiles to Capri, which may or may not be taken as a complement to the island: the supposed remains of the said Lucilla were found in 1890 in a sarcophagus, which may now be seen at the Hotel Grotte Bleue. (See Chapter " Site of old City ").

Upon the fall of the Western Empire, the island of Capri was joined to the territory of Sorrento, which was itself subject to the Dukes of Naples.

The first written mention of the island in Christian times occurs in the sixth Century, when we learn that

during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, a monastery of the monks of Monte Cassino was in existence at Capri. The Pope reported to John, Bishop of Sorrento, the petition of one Savino, who sought to deposit the remains of St. Agatha in his monastery, which was dedicated to St. Stephen. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 490).

In the year 812 a fleet of forty Saracen vessels entered the Bay of Naples, and ravaged that city and the adjacent towns. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 312). It is probable that Capri did not escape this predatory expedition, and from this time until the beginning of the 19th Century, our unhappy island knew no respite from the ravages of pirates, who under the various names of Saracens, Moors, Turks, or Barbary Corsairs, sometimes in alliance with one naval power, and sometimes with another, ravaged the Mediterranean from east to west, and were a constant terror to the towns and villages fringing the coast, and still more to the unprotected islands. The Saracens had established colonies in Sicily in 828, which till then had been subject to the Greek Empire, and a few years later passed over into Southern Italy. About the year 860 the Saracens established themselves at the Acropolis, an ancient castle about five miles to the south of Pæstum. This spot had all the requisites for a pirate stronghold, it was strong by nature, and still further strengthened by walls and towers. There was good anchorage, the air was pure and healthy, there was plenty of water, and ample supplies of necessary provisions could be obtained from the fertile regions in the rear, while the sea teemed with fish. The Saracens rendered the place impregnable, filled it with desperadoes,

and it remained till 915 a menace to the coast for many miles around. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 329-334).

We now come to 868; in this year Servius Duke of Naples, having imprisoned his uncle Athanasius, Bishop of Naples, in the Castello dell' Uovo, the Emperor directed Marino, Doge of Amalfi, to proceed with a fleet to Naples and rescue the incarcerated Bishop. A fierce encounter took place between the Neapolitans and the Amalfitans: the latter finally succeeded in liberating Athanasius, and conducted him to Sorrento. As a reward for this important service the island of Capri was transferred to the Doge of Amalfi. (" Storia di Amalfi " Vol. 1 p. 37). It is necessary here to remind the reader, who merely remembers Amalfi, as an insignificant town infested by importunate beggars, that at the period of which we are treating it was a republic of great strength and importance, ruled over by a Doge. The following account from Gibbon's " Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire ", gives the fullest and most convincing proof of the position occupied by Amalfi ; " Fifty thousand citizens were numbered in the walls of Amalfi ; nor was any city more abundantly provided with gold, silver, and the objects of precious luxury. The mariners who swarmed in her port, excelled in the theory and practice of navigation and astronomy : and the discovery of the compass, which has opened the globe, is due to their ingenuity or good fortune. Their trade was extended to the coasts, or at least to the commodities of Africa, Arabia, and India : and their settlements in Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria, acquired the privileges of independant colonies. (" Roman Empire ".

Gibbon, Vol. V p. 463). This passage from Gibbon may well be supplemented by the following lines from " Sketches in Italy " by John Addington Symonds. " Between the year 839 A. D., when Amalfi freed itself from the control of Naples and the yoke of Benevento, and the year 1131 , when Roger of Hautville incorporated the republic in his kingdom of the Two Sicilies, this city was the foremost naval and commercial port of Italy. The burghers of Amalfi elected their own doge: founded the Hospital of Jerusalem, whence sprang the knightly order of St. John: gave their name to the richest quarter of Palermo: and owned trading establishments or factories in all the chief cities of the Levant. Their gold coinage of " tari " formed the standard of currency before the Florentines had stamped the lily and St. John upon the Tuscan florin. Their shipping regulations supplied Europe with a code of maritime laws. Their scholars, in the darkest depth of the dark ages, prized and conned a famous copy of the Pandects of Justinian: and their seamen deserved the fame of having first used, if they did not actually invent, the compass ".

In 920 a bloody naval battle took place in the Gulf of Naples between the Neapolitans and Saracens, in which the latter were beaten, their ships destroyed, and the greater part of them made prisoners. One of the Saracen ships attempted to take refuge at Capri, but the sturdy islanders captured the vessel, and put every pirate to the sword. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 339).

In the early part of the year 1000 there arrived at Salerno and afterwards in Apulia, Norman adventurers under Roger XII, the last of the sons of Tancred,

whose youth beauty and elegance of manners secured for him the love of his soldiers. " In the first attempt Roger braved in an open boat the real and fancied dangers of Scylla and Carybdis; landed with only sixty soldiers on a hostile shore, drove the Saracens to the gates of Messina, and safely returned with the spoils of the adjacent country ". (Gibbon, Vol. V. p. 464). At the siege of Trani, 300 Normans withstood and repulsed the forces of the island, and on the field of Ceramio, 50,000 horse and foot were overwhelmed by 136 Christian soldiers. In 1041 the Normans conquered Apulia, in 1060 Calabria, and from 1061-1090 Sicily, in all which deeds of prowess Roger was seconded and assisted by the zeal and policy of his brother Guiscard. In 1131 Amalfi surrendered to the Normans, and in 1138 the city of Naples, though in turn helped by the Emperor of Germany and the republic of Pisa, was forced to surrender to the Normans. (" Italian Republics ". Sismondi, pp. 27. 28). Local chroniclers tell us that the Caprese not wishing to submit to the Normans, retreated to the castle of Barbarossa, where they withstood a siege; but were at last obliged to capitulate from want of provisions. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 351).

The Sicilian Vespers, March 30 1282, engineered by John of Procida, took place at Palermo. Every town in Sicily followed the example of Palermo. The tyranny of Charles of Anjou and the Guelphs was overthrown, and the kingdom of Sicily was separated from that of Naples. After a war of twenty years, the crown of Sicily was transferred to don Pedro of Arragon, son-in-law of Manfred, who was considered

the heir to the house of Hohenstaufen, while Naples continued to be ruled by the house of Anjou. (Gibbon Vol. VI, pp. 164-166).

" Charles of Anjou, the first French king of the two Sicilies, survived the Sicilian Vespers only three years. He died on January 7, 1285. At this period his son Charles II was a prisoner in the hands of the Sicilians: he was set at liberty in 1288, in persuance of a treaty, by which he acknowledged the separation and independance of the two crowns of Naples and Sicily. The first was assigned to the Guelphs and the house of Anjou, the second to the Gibellines and the house of Arragon. Charls II however broke his oath, and the war between Naples and Sicily was renewed and lasted twenty four years ". (" Italian Republics ", Sismondi, p. 104). In the course of this war Capri was attacked by a Sicilian fleet under Bernardo di Sarriano, who captured the island, and leaving a small garrison attacked and captured also the adjoining island of Procida: both islands were however soon afterwards restored to Charles II. (Mang. Ric. Stor. 353,354). The islanders proved themselves loyal and devoted to the king, who having regard to the sterility and poverty of the island, by a Decree of Dec. 20th 1299 exempted them from the payment of all royal dues. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 354).

In 1309 Robert the " Wise " succeeded Charles as King of Naples, and confirmed to the Caprese their privileges of exemption by a Decree dated Aug. 20 1330. As famine prevailed and starvation was imminent, the King permitted them to import from the

mainland 346,00 kilogrammes of grain yearly. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 355).

The next sovereign of Naples was Joanna I, daughter of Charles Duke of Calabria, and niece of Robert. In recognition of the loyalty and devotion of the islanders to her house, their usefulness to the arsenal of Naples in repairing ships, and the sterility of the island, which at that time was always on the brink of a famine, (even today it is far from self-supporting), Queen Joanna by a Decree of Feb. 7 1344, exempted the Caprese from the laws which prohibited the importation of grain from the mainland. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 356). Giacomi Arcucci, Count of Minervino and Altamura, who was the most notable resident in Capri, and was Queen Joanna's Secretary and Chamberlain, having made a vow to found a Monastery of Carthusians on the island, (probably as slight palliation for his sins, for the Court of Naples was at that time extremely gay) Queen Joanna lent him her assistance in every way, and by a Deed of May 1st 1371 granted considerable tracts of the richest land on the island, to the use of his newly founded Monastery of Certosa. (Mang. Ric. Stor. pp. 356 & 357).

In 1386 Ladislaus, being at that time only ten years old, succeeded to the throne of Naples; but his claims were contested by Louis II of Anjou. "The war between the two aspirants ruined the kingdom of Naples during the latter part of the 14th century, and destroyed its influence over the rest of Italy. It was not till 1399 that Ladislaus succeeded in driving out the princes of Anjou, and subduing the kingdom". ("Italian Republics." Sismondi, p. 210). During his

reign the guard of the castle of Capri mutinied, and attempted to murder the commandant and escape from the island, the islanders (who it will be remarked always had an eye to the main chance) informed the Governor of the conspiracy, which consequently proved abortive. To reward the Caprese for their action on this occasion, the King by a Decree, dated March 12 1408, exempted them from the payment of taxes and exactions of all kinds. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 358).

In 1414 Joanna II ascended the throne of Naples, and by a Decree of Sept. 18 1414, and by a further Decree in 1428, (the previous one having been lost), ratified and renewed the privileges granted to Capri. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 359).

On the death of Joanna II, Renato of Anjou, who had been nominated by Joanna, succeeded in 1435. The Barons of Naples favoured the claims of Alfonso, and as usual in these stormy times, war between Renato and Alfonso was the result. During this war a priest of Capri went to the camp of Alfonso at Capua, and offered him the allegiance of the island of Capri. Alfonso accepted, and sent six galleys to take possession of the island. A short time after a vessel reached Capri from France, having on board 80,000 scudi for Renato, and the Captain being unaware of the political change of heart that had moved the Caprese, landed, whereupon the islanders seized the treasure, and sent it to Alfonso. (Canale p. 206 and Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 362). The capture of so large a treasure was disastrous to Renato, who was in sore straits for money to satisfy his soldiers, whose pay was already in arrear. Alfonso on the other hand greatly benefited by this wind-fall;

he renewed his efforts to capture Naples, and on June 2nd 1442 succeeded in entering the city through an aqueduct.

Alfonso I was succeeded by Ferdinand, who in 1482 again ratified the privileges conferred on the island. By a further Decree of 1491 he ordered that the fees received by the Mastrodattia, of the two Communes of Capri and Anacapri should be expended on the restoration of the walls of the town of Capri. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 366).

Alfonso II followed Ferdinand: this sovereign by a Decree of May 15 1494 not only ratified their former privileges, but granted them still further exemptions. The reign of Alfonso II was of short duration, for being threatened by Charles VIII of France, he fled to Sicily, and abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand II. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 367).

Ferdinand II was succeeded by Frederick of Arragon, son of Ferdinand I. This sovereign, recognising the greivances of the people of Anacapri, who were oppressed by the people of Capri, by a Decree dated Oct. 24 1496 separated the government of the two Communes, and ordered that all disputes arising between them should be referred for decision to the courts of Naples, and conferred on the people of Anacapri (called in the Decree "Donnacapri") all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the inhabitants of Ischia and Procida. Frederick was attacked by the Kings of France and Spain, was forced to take flight to Ischia, and surrendered to Louis, by whom he was sent to Tours, in which city he died in exile in 1504, and with him perished the House of Arragon. (Mang. Ric. Stor. pp.

370, 371). Hostilities at once broke out between the French and Spaniards. The French army was entirely destroyed on June 19 1502 at the battle of Atripalda, and by the surrender of Gaeta to Gonzales on Jan. 1st 1504, the whole kingdom of Naples, like Sicily, became a Spanish possession. ("Italian Republics", Sismondi pp. 301, 302).

In 1507 Ferdinand of Spain ratified the privileges and immunities granted to Capri. He died in 1516 and Charles, Archduke of Austria, became sovereign of the kingdom of Naples. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 372). During the reign of the Austrians the government of Naples and the Gulf was entrusted to Viceroys. The people of Capri seem to have been always docile and faithful to whatever ruling power was in the ascendant, and were rewarded for their pliancy by special protection, immunities, and exemptions.

The local chroniclers say that in 1535 the famous Barbary Corsair Barbarossa, Kheyr-ed-din, at that time Admiral of the fleet of Solyman the Magnificent, entered the Gulf of Naples with a huge fleet, and spread ruin and devastation all along the coast, and that among other places Capri was attacked. (Man, Ric. Stor. p. 375). The Barbary Corsairs play so important part in the wars of these times and affect so seriously the balance of power along the whole coast of the Mediterranean, that some short account should here be given of their rise and power, and of the career of their greatest leader, and most romantic figure, Barbarossa, Kheyr-ed-din. When Ferdinand and Isabella drove the Spanish Moors from Granada, thousands of desperate Moors left Spain, and unwilling to live under the Span-

ish rule, crossed over to Africa, where they established themselves at various points, but notably at Algiers. The Barbary coast which extended from Tangier to Tripoli, was just the coast line most suitable for the operations of pirates. The map shows a series of natural harbours, at the back of which were often lagunes, specially fitted for the escape of light draught vessels; "the mountains rose steep and high near the coast, so that the Corsairs could sight the vessels to be attacked a long way out to sea, and thus give notice of a prize, or warning of an enemy"; in addition to these desiderata for a pirate Eldorado, "the coast was visited by terrible gales, which while avoidable by those who had experience and knew where to run, were fatal to the unwary, and foiled many an attack of the avenging enemy". ("Barbary Corsairs". Lane-Poole, pp. 16 to 21).

Undoubtedly the greatest of the Corsairs was Kheyr-ed-din, the Barbarossa of modern writers, though he was never so called by Turks or Moors. While endowed with marvellous courage and determination, "he was gifted with prudent and statesmanlike intelligence, which led him to greater enterprises (than his brother) though not to more daring exploits. He measured the risk by the end, and never exposed himself needlessly to the hazard of defeat; but when he saw his way clear, none struck harder or more effectual blows". ("Barbary Corsairs". Lane-Poole, pp. 53, 54). Everything that Kheyr-ed-din undertook succeeded. His fleet increased month by month, till he had 36 galleots perpetually cruising about in search of victims. The foundries of Algiers were constantly kept

employed to supply his fleet, and seven thousand Christian slaves laboured to strengthen the defences of the harbour, Soleyman the Magnificent saw the necessity for a combination with the Turkish Corsairs, who by the capture of Algiers, and the establishment of numerous garrisons on the Barbary coast, held the command of the western basin of the Mediterranean. Accordingly Kheyr-ed-din received the Imperial command to present himself at Constantinople. He was not however inclined to weaken his importance in the Sultan's eyes by a too ready compliance with his orders. It was not till 1533 that having appointed Hasan Aga, a Sardinian eunuch, to be his Viceroy, Kheyr-ed-din set sail from Algiers, and arrived in due course at the Golden Horn, where he was enthusiastically received and appointed to reconstruct the Ottoman navy. He found that the Turks of Constantinople were ignorant of how to build or work their own galleys. During the winter he built sixty one galleys, and in the following spring (1534) was able to take the sea with a fleet of eighty four vessels: entering the straits of Messina, he surprised Reggio. (Barbary Corsair. Lane-Poole, pp. 76-86). It was during this raid, which ended in the capture of Tunis, that Kheyr-ed-din ravaged the Bay of Naples, and as local historians relate, landed at Capri, where he destroyed the most formidable fortress on the island, which since that time has borne the name of Barbarossa. It is also said that during this attack on Capri, the ancient walls of the city were finally destroyed, and many of the inhabitants abandoned entirely their island, and fled to the mainland. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 376).

The Viceroy, Pietro di Toledo, after this disastrous attack by the Corsairs permitted the Caprese to keep and bear arms, because, "owing to the perpetual incursions of barbarians, they were compelled to stand always to arms to defend their lives and property from their voracity". (Man. Ric. Stor. p. 377).

In the year 1656 Naples was visited by the Plague, which was imported by a ship of Sardinia: in a short time the scourge spread to Gaeta, Sorrento, Paola, and to the provinces of Otranto and Calabria; it is said that during six months 300,000 persons died of this dread disease. The Plague was introduced into Capri in the following manner; a young lady of the noble family of Morcaldi, having died of the disease in Naples, her family sent a tress of her hair and some articles of clothing to her relations in Capri, which the ignorant and careless guards permitted to be landed. At first the Plague attacked only the poorer classes, but soon the rich also were infected. Physicians and medicine could not be obtained, so that the malady spread unchecked, until the whole island was attacked. The only persons who escaped from the awful visitation were the monks of Certosa, who on the first appearance of the Plague, with inconceivable cowardice and selfishness, shut themselves up in their monastery, and communicated with none outside its walls. The deaths were so numerous that it was found impossible to provide any sort of decent burial, and the corpses were left where they died, exposed to the elements, and the ravages of beasts. * From this scourge perished the

greater part of the inhabitants as well as the principal people of the island, and all the priests. (Mang. Ric. Stor. pp. 378-382). Many families who owned land were exterminated, and the Carthusian monks, who were strong and hearty, having taken excellent care of themselves inside their monastery walls, promptly absorbed these unclaimed lands, and so became possessed of the larger and richer part of the island.

Under Charles II of Spain, the privileges that the Caprese had enjoyed under previous rulers were confirmed, but instead of a civic governor annually appointed, a military officer was sent to rule Capri (1670), assisted by an assessor learned in the civil law. This apparent benefit, turned out however to be really a grievance, for the assessor resided in Naples, and it was necessary for those engaged in law suits to go themselves to Naples, which was often impossible owing to bad weather, and in any case increased the cost of litigation. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 385, 386).

In 1734 Charles Bourbon, son of Philip V, of Spain, ascended the throne of Naples; the rule of the Bourbons began, and Charles by right of birth and conquest, ruled over the two Sicilies. The attacks of Turkish Corsairs were even at this time a constant menace, and during this reign the defence of the island was better organised, for guards were placed to watch the various landing-places, and a system of signals was arranged by which the armed Caprese could be concentrated at any given point. A large supply of provisions was stored both in the village of Capri, and also at Anacapri, at the public expense, so that during the stormy months of winter, when intercourse with

the mainland was interrupted, the islanders might not suffer from famine. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 388, 389)

The Bourbons were from the first notable patrons of the arts, and collectors of the rare and beautiful. Charles caused the foundations of Villa Jovis to be excavated, and presented to the Cathedral of Capri a magnificent pavement of variously coloured marbles found in a subterranean chamber there. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 390. See also Chapter, Villa Jovis).

Ferdinand IV, the son and successor of Charles, often visited the island for quail hunting. He encouraged the preservation of this sporting little bird, and offered rewards for the destruction of the snakes which destroyed their eggs. During his hunting trips to Capri, Ferdinand made the Palazzo Inglese his headquarters. The king frequently held reviews of the local militia of the island, which was not subject to military service outside the island. Here is a description of one of these reviews, by Hadrava; " Every year there is a parade during which every one of the arms-bearing population must present himself with his gun, and ammunition consisting of three balls and a half pound of gun powder. Once I was present at this beautiful ceremony, at which I saw guns without any barrels, which with the powder and balls were borrowed from the old men. This review takes place in the spring, usually on the day of San Costanzo, and after dinner, as at that hour the men exhibit more vigour and military ardour ". (Had. Letter XXXVIII).

In 1758 both the towns of Capri and Anacapri sent a petition to the King, begging him to replace the military by a civil governor, thus putting an end to

the expensive and prolonged litigation consequent on the judge's residence in Naples: this petition was not brought to the attention of the King till 1764 and in November of that year, to the satisfaction of the people, the military governor was removed, and as in earlier times, Capri was ruled by a civil magistrate. It seems that the Caprese, then as now, were somewhat whimsical, for in 1782 (only eighteen later) a demonstration was made against the then Governor, Doctor Marcello de Angelis, at which Hadrava was present, and describes in the following formal and conscientious manner; "The Governor and a crowd of Capriots awaited the landing of the King and his party, the Governor had learned a set speech, with which he intended to welcome his Majesty to Capri: but on the stepping ashore of the King, the cries and laments of the men and women drowned his voice, and finally he was thrust aside by several of the islanders, who drew from their breasts bread, broke it, and exhibited its bad quality to the King. Then they poured forth their complaints against the Governor, specifying his crimes and tyranny, and implored that they might be freed from this monster in human shape. The King, at the time, took no notice of these complaints, but during his stay on the island made enquiries, and on the day of his departure had the Governor arrested, and sent him for trial to Naples, amid the hearty applause of the delighted people". (Had. Letter III).

The people of Capri represented that they were a military people, and could only be controlled by a military man, and therefore prayed his Majesty to re-

store to them their military chief. This the King consented to do, and appointed Emmanuele Diversi as military governor. The following year however (1783) the town of Anacapri protested against his misrule, alledging that living as he did in Capri, he favoured the people of that Commune to the disadvantage of the more remote mountaineers of Anacapri. Capri on the other hand was perfectly satisfied with the governor's alledged one-sided justice. The matter came for trial before the court of Salerno, which decided that not only should a military governor reside on the island, and be appointed annually but that a civil governor should also be sent to Capri, that he should reside permanently on the island to administer civil affairs, and that all his expenses should be defrayed by the two Communes. Which was rather like the judgement of Solomon ! (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 396 & 397). " From this time elected governors were sent out from Naples, who governed the inhabitants zealously and righteously, and every petition presented to them was promptly listened to and considered ". (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 400).

In 1775 Doctor Giraldi, an Italian, went to Capri and caused excavations to be made to a depth of three or four feet, but found little of any importance, he collected however from the peasants all the antiquities which they had found in cultivating their vineyards, and wrote a short descriptive account of the island and his stay there: the most interesting part of his manuscript refers to the flora of Capri. (" Capri " Mac-kowen, p. 86).

In 1776 Monsignor Gamboni became Bishop of Capri. " In addition to forming a seminary for train-

ing young men for the priesthood, he established four other schools, one of which was devoted to agriculture, and instruction in naval affairs. He also formed a school for girls, in which they were taught not only reading and writing but also how to prepare silk, so that it could be sold as ribands and scarfs ". (Capri. Mackowen. p. 87).

For the period of the French and English occupation of Capri, consult Book III, Chapter. I.

In 1815 the Bourbons resumed the reins of government, and the old order namely, a civil and military governor, was restored. During the reign of Ferdinand I, and his successors, Francis I, and Ferdinand II, much attention was paid to the cultivation of the vine. Choice and selected vines were planted, and great care bestowed on the manufacture of the wine, so that " to this day (1834) the wine is much esteemed, and in great demand for its singular fullness and delicacy ". (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 429).

Much attention was also given to the improvement in quantity and quality of olive oil. Bishop Gamboni having been compelled, on account of political troubles in 1799, to seek refuge in North Italy, the school which he had formed was closed. In 1818 the Bishopric of Capri was abolished, and the island came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of Sorrento.

Under the later Bourbon kings Capri was used as a place of exile, and both criminals, and political prisoners were sent to its shores.

A hospital for invalid soldiers was also formed in the Convent of Santa Teresa, but was subsequently moved to Massa.

“ In 1848 a terrible disaster occurred, which almost ruined the land-owners and peasants. A disease infected the vines, and so great was the damage done that in 1850 not a single barrel of wine was made on the island ”. (Capri. Mackowen. p. 114).

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

Construction of Roman masonry and pavements.

" The methods of building walls in Rome may be classified thus ;

1. " *Opus quadratum* ", that is rectangular blocks of stone set either with, or without mortar.
2. " *Concrete* ", either unfaced, or faced.

These two main classes really include the whole system of building employed in ancient Rome. The usual classification, which makes " *opus incertum* " " *opus reticulatum* " and " *opus testaceum* " or brick, distinct methods of construction like " *opus quadratum* " is wholly misleading, as they are merely used as thin facings to concrete " walls ". (" *Remains of Ancient Rome* ". Middleton, vol. I p. 37). In the " *opus quadratum* " at first tufa was the only material, but soon the harder " *peperino* " was employed. The use of mortar was introduced at a very remote period, both in Greece and Rome. The length of the blocks, as a rule varies. Travertine was probably not much used, before the first century B. C. " When used for walls,

it was not cut into regular courses, as the tufa and peperino blocks usually were, but was worked up so as to involve as little labour as possible, and the least amount of waste, being both much harder and more valuable than tufa or even peperino ". (" Remains of Ancient Rome ". Middleton, vol. I, p. 40).

CONCRETE; " structura caementitia ". " The most striking feature in the construction of the buildings of ancient Rome, is the extensive use of concrete for the most varied purposes. (Vitruvius VI, 8, 9.). " Immense beds of pozzolana exist over the Campagna (and also in various parts of Capri), and when mixed with lime has the peculiar property of forming a sort of natural hydraulic cement, of the very highest excellence in strength, hardness, and durability It is to this remarkable product that the great durability of the buildings of Imperial Rome is due ". (" Remains of Ancient Rome ". Middleton. Vol. I, p. 44). Concrete walls were either faced or unfaced. The unfaced concrete was employed usually for the walls of foundations and substructures. A sort of wooden box was formed, into which the concrete was poured, the wall was in fact *cast*, the result being a coherent mass like a solid block of stone. (Middleton Vol I, p. 47).

" Faced concrete was of four kinds.

A. " Opus incertum "; second and first centuries B. C. " In forming " opus incertum, " the face of the concrete wall was studded with irregular-shaped pieces of tufa, 3 or 4 inches across, each having its outer face worked smooth, and the inner part roughly pointed ". " Remains of Ancient Rome ". Middleton. Vol I, p. 51).

B. "Opus reticulatum"; — first century B. C. to second century A. D.— so called from its resemblance to the meshes of a net (reticulatum). "The "opus incertum" was given up about the time of Sulla and replaced by the "opus reticulatum", made of regular prisms of tufa made in imitation of network. There are three kinds of "opus reticulatum": in the oldest the prisms are small and the intersecting lines of the network slightly irregular: it marks the infancy of the new style. . . . In the second stage the prisms become larger, and the cross lines of the network perfectly straight, while the angles of the walls are strengthened with irregular pieces of tufa resembling large bricks. . . . The last period, from Trajan to the first Antonines, marks a decided improvement in the solidity, and the wall itself is strengthened by horizontal bands of the same material". ("Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome". Lanciani, p. 44-45).

C. "Opus testaceum": or brick — first century B. C. to end of Western Empire. "Till the first century B. C., only unburnt bricks appear to have been used in Rome, and no example of brick, earlier than Julius Caesar is now to be seen. . . . The most important point to notice about the use of burnt brick in Rome is, that (in walls) they are only used as a thin facing for concrete, and in no case is a wall formed of solid brickwork. The shape of these bricks is always triangular". ("Remains of Ancient Rome". Middleton Vol. p. 54 and 56).

D. "Opus mixtum" — third century A. D. to end of Western Empire". This is a modern term used for a variety of concrete facing, which did not come

into use till the close of the third century A. D., the usual facing of triangular bricks, in this sort of work, is varied by bands at regular intervals of small rectangular blocks of tufa about 10 inches long, by 4 deep, and tailing 3 to 5 inches into the concrete backing". (" Remains of Ancient Rome ". Middleton. Vol. I. p. 62).

Pavements.

Pliny tells us that; " pavements are an invention of the Greeks, who also practised the art of painting them, till they were superseded by mosaics. The first pavements, in my opinion, were those now known to us as barbaric and subtegulan (under cover) pavements, a kind of work that was beaten down with the hammer: at least if we may judge from the name (" pavio " to beat down) that has been given to them. Mosaic pavements (" spicata testacea "), probably so called, because the bricks were laid at angles to each other, like the grains in an ear of wheat, or like spines projecting from either side of the back-bone of a fish, were first introduced in the time of Sulla ". (Pliny. Nat. Hist. XXXVI, 60, 64 69.).

Vitruvius (VII, 1), describes the various kinds of concrete and cement used to form a bed for marble pavings and mosaics. The pavements of Roman houses were specially remarkable for the frequent elaboration of their designs in mosaic. The earlier houses, till the time of Augustus, had mosaics of a very simple character, with merely geometrical patterns formed of grey and white " tesserae " only. Under the Empire the

mosaic gradually became more pictorial in character, and great varieties of coloured marbles, imported from all over the Roman Empire, were used to give realistic effects to the picture-like designs, which the bad taste of the Romans made so popular. (" Remains of Ancient Rome ". Middleton, Vol. II, p. 240). The following is a list of the various pavements used by the Romans.

1. "*Pavimentum sectile*" — composed of marbles cut into sets of regular form and size; such as squares, hexagons etc.

2. "*Pavimentum tessellatum*" — Made of marbles cut in regular dies, without the admixture of other form.

3. "*Pavimentum vermiculatum*" — A mosaic pavement representing natural objects animate and inanimate.

4. "*Pavimentum sculpturatum*" — A pavement on which designs were produced by engraving or inlaying.

5. "*Pavimentum testaceum*" — This was made of broken pieces of pottery (testæ).

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CHAPTER II.

Ancient marbles found in Capri.

Though the study of ancient marbles is a subject to which little attention is usually given by the student of Roman history, it seems to be worthy of more consideration than it generally receives, when we recall the affection, almost devotion which the Romans paid to the exquisite marbles of every conceivable hue, and combination of colour, which were brought from the remotest parts of their Empire. Under the rule of the Emperors, Rome was indeed a "marble city": not only did the Palaces of the Emperors, the temples, baths and other public buildings, glow resplendent with coloured marbles, but every private Villa, of any pretension, likewise boasted its columns and statues of Parian, or Pentelic marble, while the walls were rendered vivid by the slabs of rarer and more brilliant marbles, which, with the exception of mosaic and wall-painting, was the only form of decoration employed by the Romans. After a successful campaign, no spoil was more esteemed than columns of priceless, marble, ruthlessly torn from the temples and theatres of the enemy.

Pliny has placed on record the manner of transporting these enormous columns and blocks of marble. After having been marked at the quarries with the year in which they were excavated, and the name of the Consul or Emperor, they were shipped in vessels of peculiar form, manned by 200 to 300 rowers to Porto, at the mouth of the Tiber, from whence they were conveyed up the river in flat-bottomed boats.

For the above general remarks, and for the following classification of the stones employed in ancient Roman buildings, I am indebted to the Rev. H. W. Pullen's admirable, " Handbook of Ancient Roman marbles ".

Correctly speaking, marble is some variety of carbonate of lime, and the name was originally applied only to the white or statuary marbles, such as Parian, Pentelic, or Carrara. For the purpose of commerce however, the name of marble is applied to any hard stone, which is capable of receiving a fine polish, and in this sense the stones employed in Roman buildings, may be divided into fifteen groups.

WHITE OR STATURY MARBLES, of which the best known is the species quarried at mount Hymettus near Athens.

BLACK OR GREY MARBLES.

COLOURED MARBLES, comprising only yellow and red.

VEINED OR VARIEGATED MARBLES of almost every hue.

SHELL MARBLES, containing molluscos animals and formed for the most part at the bottom of pre-historic seas.

BRECCIA, which is a conglomerate of angular stones, or rounded pebbles, cemented together by paste of gravel or clay.

AFRICANO.

ALABASTERS; which according to the Roman significance of the name are simply stalagmites, formed by the dropping of water, charged with carbonate of lime.

JASPERS; AGATES, and PRECIOUS STONES.

ARENACEOUS; and CALCAREOUS STONES.

SERPENTINE; of which "verde antico" is the finest example.

PORPHYRY; which may be either red, black, grey or green. It consists chiefly of feldspar, coloured by tiny particles of copper or iron.

GRANITE; a combination of mica, quartz, and feldspar.

BASALT; a species of compressed lava.

TRAVERTINE; ("Handbook of Ancient Roman marbles" Pullen).

The following complete list of the ancient marbles, found in Capri has been kindly supplied me by Dr. I. Cerio, who has an interesting collection of specimens in his Natural History Collection. For the description of the place of origin, and colouring of the marbles, I have again freely availed myself of Mr. Pullen's Handbook.

1. CARRARA—(marmor lunensel). From the Fantiscritti quarries at Carrara. Pure white: no crystals: texture soapy inclining to that of china.

2. PENTELIC — (marmor pentelicum). From Mount Pentelicus between Athens and Marathon. Pure white,

with fine dust-like opaque crystals. Turns yellow after long exposure to the air.

3. PALOMBINO — (marmor coraliticum). From the banks of the Corallo in Phrygia. Ivory white, of very fine grain, without crystals. Sometimes faintly spotted with grey.

4. BIGIO ANTICO — (marmor batthium). Probably from North Africa. Light and dark grey in long patterns, with transparent surface and sparkling crystals.

5. GIALLO ANTICO — (marmor numidicum). Supposed to have been brought from Numidia. Large quarries of this marble, exhibiting many beautiful varieties, have been discovered on mountain flanks in Algeria. Pale yellow, flushed with deeper yellow, and finely veined with purple.

6. ROSSO ANTICO — (marmor teanarium). From the Promontory of Taenarum in Laconia, now Cape Matapan. Dark red, with parallel lines of dark hue: broad yellowish streaks: texture of raw beef: patches of fleecy white and bluish grey. "Rosso antico" is more commonly employed for statues, shallow vases, and tripods than for columns.

7. NERO ANTICO — From the promontory of Taenarum in Laconia. Jet black with faint streaks of pure white.

8. MARMOR AFRICANO — is strictly a Breccia. From the island of Chios. It is called African because of its dusky hue. Black, green, grey, purple, and bronze, in form of large pebbles: colours always strongly pronounced.

9. CIPOLLINO — (marmor carystium), so called from the resemblance of its veining to the vertical section of an

onion (cipolla). From Carystus in the island of Euboea.

10. FIORE DI PERSICO—(marmor molossium). From Epirus. Lilac, peach blossom, red, and white in flowery patterns.

11. SETTEBASI — It derives its name from Septimius Bassus, who had a Villa adorned with this marble on the Via Tuscolana. Its general hue is greyish violet, but it is often beautifully flushed with blood-red, or golden yellow.

12. PAVONAZZETTO—(marmor synnadicum). From quarries near Synnada in Phrygia. Very dark brown ground, with hue of clotted blood, and slightly metallic texture. Large pebbles of semi-transparent cream white, tinged with orange, pink or green.

13. BRECCIA CORALLINA — This marble is named after its cement, which is usually of coral colour, though there is often very little of it, and sometimes none at all. The pebbles are most frequently red, pink, white or yellow.

14. BRECCIA DI SERRAVEZZA — Yellowish white inclining to pink with purplish veins. Pebbles small, oblong or oval, and closely set.

15. PORTA SANTA — so called because the door jambs of the Jubilee Gate under the portico of St. Peters, and the other Basilicas in Rome are made of it. From the Island of Jasus off the coast of Caria. Pink, lilac or flesh colour, in irregular mottlings, with tortuous veins of white and red. It has one unfailing characteristic—a most remarkable resemblance to cold roast beef.

16. ALABASTRO ANTICO—(marmor alabastrum). Said to have been first brought from the Theban hermitages in Egypt. Its varieties are too numerous to describe here.

17. RED GRANITE — (lapis pyrrhopoecilus). From Syene (Assouan), and hence called Syenite. Crystals of fiery red, mixed with black, white and green. All the obelisks in Rome are of Syenite.

18. WHITE AND BLACK GRANITE — White round oval black spots, evenly distributed.

19. RED PORPHYRY — Very dark reddish purple, crowded with small pinkish spots.

20. GREEN PORPHYRY — Olive green; with many little crystals of yellowish green, and larger ones of white.

21. GREEN EGYPTIAN BASALT — Dark green, pricked with minute spots of yellowish green.

22. NERO PARAGONE—(lapis lydicus). An extremely hard variety of Basalt, said to come from Lydia and to be the touchstone of Metallurgists. Jet ebony black, with faint streaks of mottled white.

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that no examples of "verde antico", the finest of the specimens of Serpentine, have been found in Capri.

Splendid collections of ancient marbles have fortunately been placed at the disposal of those who may wish to study the subject in a more thorough manner: "one at Oxford, which numbers one thousand tablets: one in the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street, London: a third in the University of the Sapienza in Rome, consisting of six hundred large, and about one thousand smaller slabs. The best of all is the set bequeathed

by Baron Ravenstein to the Museum of the Porte de Hal, Brussels. It contains seven hundred and sixty four specimens, which were arranged and catalogued by Tommaso and Francesco Belli. The variety and richness of Roman marbles may be estimated from the fact, that there are forty three qualities of " bigio ", and one hundred and fifty one of alabaster ". (" Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome ". Lanciani, p. 43).

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CHAPTER III.

Removal and destruction of ancient marbles.

One is constantly struck with wonder, at the comparatively few objects of art and interest, which have rewarded the strenuous, though rather intermittent efforts, of the excavating antiquarian in Capri during the last century and a half. On the one hand we are told, and have every reason to believe that nearly twenty Palaces or Villas of some importance were scattered over the island. We know that for at least fifty years Capri was resorted to by the Roman Emperors. We know the lavish taste of that age, that numbers of columns of costly material were used for the embellishment of the Imperial Palaces and the Villas of the wealthy. We know too that, the terraces halls and gardens of these Palaces and Villas must have been adorned with countless statues, and innumerable pavements of choice marbles brought at infinite cost from every corner of the then known world. Yet, we are faced by the apparently extraordinary fact that, after years of careful excavations, conducted by skilled antiquarians, the expense of which was defrayed from the lavish purse of the Bourbons, the total result is inadequate, and entirely out of proportion to the results

that might have been confidently looked for. How then can we account for this discrepancy between expectation and result?

Weichardt remarks; "It may well be assumed that, in the early middle ages and later on, whole ship-loads of columns, statues, and mosaic pavements were carried off from the island". ("Capri". Weichardt. p. 79).

In order to illustrate the uses to which these ship-loads of marbles, columns and statues were put, I cannot do better than make a few extracts from "The Destruction of Ancient Rome", by Professor Rodolfo Lanciani, than whom, no greater authority on ancient Rome exists. "The earliest instance of the removal of marbles from the Eternal City dates from the time of King Theodoric" "The portion of the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle erected by Charlemagne in 799-804 and consecrated by Leo III, is an octagon copied from S. Vitale at Ravenna, designed and built by Roman marmorarii. The lofty openings of the upper story are decorated with a double row of columns of unequal length, of rare marbles and breccias, brought from Rome, Treves, and Ravenna" "The cathedral of Pisa, begun in 1063, and consecrated in 1118 by Pope Gelasius II, is mostly built of marbles taken from Rome and Ostia" "The inexhaustible stores of Rome were resorted to for the construction of the cathedrals of Lucca (1060-1070) and of Monte Cassino (1066) of those of S. Matteo at Salerno, (1084) and of S. Andrea at Amalfi (eleventh century); of the baptistry of S. Giovanni in Florence (begun in 1100): of the monastery of Nostra Signora di Tergu, on the north coast of

Sardinia, between Sorso and Castel Sardo, of the church of S. Francesco at Civita Vecchia, of the cathedral of Orvieto (1321-1360), and even of some parts of Westminster Abbey " " We are indebted to Luigi Fumi for detailed information concerning the use of materials from Rome in the building of the cathedral of Orvieto. The first barge-loads were shipped from the Tiber, from the quay of the Ripetta, in June 1316. For the space of nearly forty years the " maestri dell' Opera del duomo ", or superintendants of construction sent their agents through the country around Rome in search of blocks of marble for their carvings " , " In process of time the villa of Domitian at Castel Gandolfo, the mausoleum of Hadrian, the portico of Octavia, the temple of Isis and Serapis, and the ruins of Veii were in like manner put to ransom. The documents collected by Fumi give us some details of this remarkable *trade in old marbles* ". (Lanciani, pp. 183-186).

In addition to this process of obliteration, we are certain even from what we have seen in our own times that hundreds of tons of precious marbles, the smallest fragment of which is now eagerly sought by private collectors and the purchasers for public Museums, were in times past reduced into their original elements in the *lime-kiln*, and serve today to bind together the wretched and sordid hovels of the poor, and the rapidly crumbling walls, which separate vineyard from orange-grove.

As illustrating and proving conclusively the wholesale and barbaric destruction of rare and precious marbles wrought by lime-burners, not only during the Middle

Ages, but even into our own times, I will again venture to avail myself of the vast learning and wide experience of Prof. Lanciani, quoting still from "The Destruction of Ancient Rome"; "From a document of July 1, 1426, preserved in the Vatican archives, we learn that the papal authorities while giving a free hand to a company of limeburners to destroy the Basilica Julia, for the sake of the blocks of travertine of which the pillars of the nave and aisles were built, reserved to themselves half the produce of the kilns: a present was afterwards made of the income from this source to Cardinal Giacomo Isolani, who was then engaged in repairing his titular church of S. Eustachio. A fate similar to that of the Basilica Julia, fell to the lot of the tomb of Alexander Severus at the Monte del Grano: thus perished half of the Coliseum, the arch of Lentulus, the Circus Maximus, the square basement of Cæcilia Metella, and a hundred other monuments, the spoils of which served to build St Peter's, St Mark's, the Palazzo di Corneto, the Palazzo Farnese, the Cancellaria, the Villa Giulia "..... "Pirro Ligorio, the architect, discussing the best way of obtaining a particularly fine plaster, suggests the use of *powdered Parian marble*, obtained from the statues which are constantly destroyed "..... "Other famous kilns were those of S. Adriano, for the burning of the marbles of the imperial Forum: of the "Agosta", fed with the spoils of the mausoleum of Augustus: and of "La Pigna", supplied with materials from the Baths of Agrippa and the temple of Isis. There were temporary establishments opened near this or that edifice, which were abandoned as soon as the supply was exhausted ".....

" I have myself, had no small experience in tracing the results of the operations of the lime-burners: in fact none of the important excavations with which I have been connected either in Rome or on neighbouring sites, have failed to bring to light remains of one or more lime-kilns. I mention two examples as specially worthy of note. A lime-kiln was found in the palace of Tiberius on the Palatine hill by Rosa in 1869. It was filled to the brim with fine works of art, some calcined, some intact; among the latter, were the veiled bust of Claudius, now in the Museo delle Terme, a head of Nero: three carrying caryatides in " nero antico ": an exquisite little statuette of an ephebus in black basalt " " In February 1883, in the excavations on the south side of the Atrium of Vesta a pile of marble was found about 14 feet long, 9 feet wide, and 7 feet high. It was wholly made up of statues of the " Vestales maximae ", some unbroken, others in fragments. " There were eight nearly perfect statues, and we were agreeably surprised to find among the broken ones, the lower part of the lovely seated Vesta with the footstool, which alas! is now hardly recognisable owing to the number of years it has been left exposed in the dampest corner of the Atrium. " (Lanciani, p. 191-196).

As I am unable to find any evidence as to where, or when, this altar was discovered, I have decided to insert in this place the two reproductions of photographs taken for me by Mr. A. H. Smith, Assistant Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum.

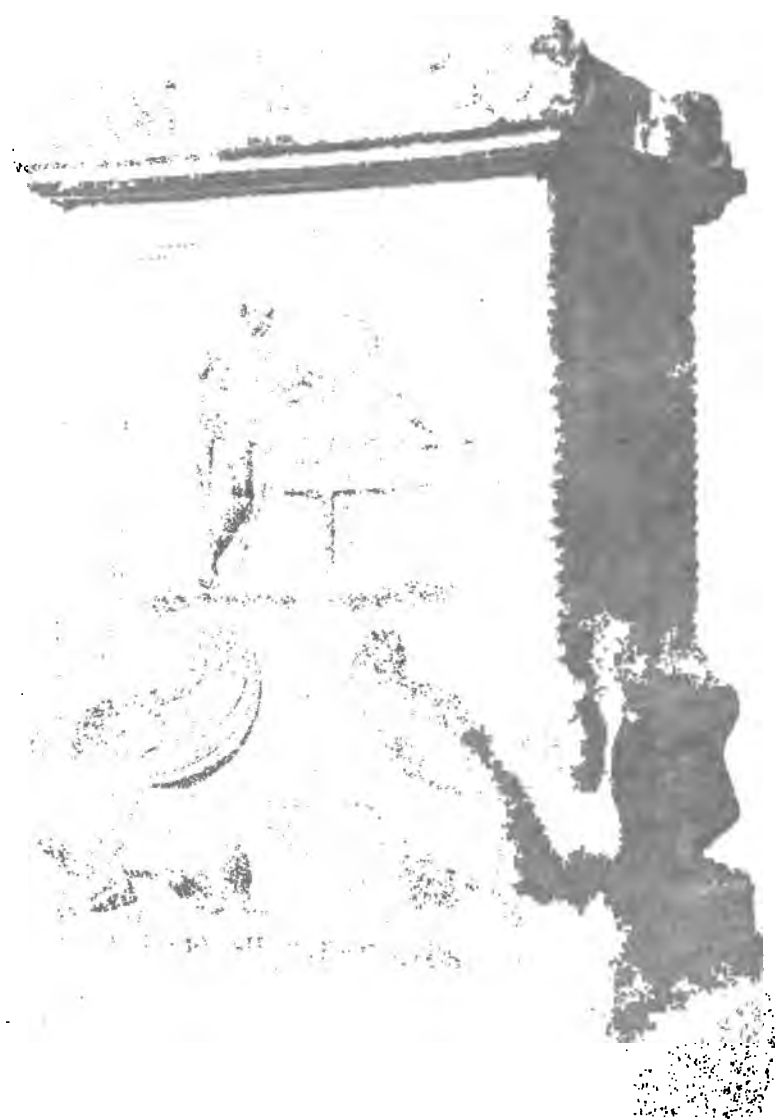
The following is the description of the altar or plinth from the official Catalogue of the British Museum.

2487. Altar (or perhaps base of candelabrum). On a square plinth is an altar or pedestal, the four sides of which are slightly concave. The four corners are supported by four female Sphinxes. Their heads are encircled with chaplet of beads. From each of these a string of bead and reel ornament runs up the angle. Front side (A): In the panel in front is a low relief representing Apollo standing by the side of a tripod. He stands to the right, with right hand on his hip, and with left hand resting on the lyre which stands on a table. He is nude, except for a small chlamys and shoes, and has long hair, tied up behind the head. On the table are two rolls of manuscript, and from a crossbar between its legs hang two sashes. The tripod is placed on a higher level beyond the table. Two sashes hang from the crossbar of the tripod. The raven of Apollo pecks at one of the sashes.

On the left side (B) is a sacrificial group. On the left is a bearded priest, wreathed, and draped. In his right hand is a sacrificial ewer; in his left a lustral branch. In front of him is an attendant, who is dragging forward a sheep by the horns with his right hand, while with his left he holds a fillet. On the right side (C) of the pedestal has been a group of which all that remains are the naked feet of a male figure standing on an elevated platform on the left, the legs of a goat or of Aegipan, and the feet of a sandalled figure on the right. At the back of the pedestal (D) is Diana Lucifera feeding a deer. She extends her



Altar, (or base of candelabrum), Hamilton Collection. (British Museum).




View of the base of camera body, Hamilton Collection, 1910-1915.



Altar, (or base of candelabrum), Hamilton Collection. (British Museum).

right hand holding a branch towards the deer, her left hand holds a torch ; in front of her is a laurel-tree. Between the goddess and the deer a dish for charcoal is placed on the ground. This is so nearly worn away as to be hardly discernible. The whole is surmounted by a cornice, on the four corners of which are couchant female Sphinxes. A string of oval beads is cast round their bodies. — *Capri. Presented by Sir William Hamilton, 1772.*

Marble. Height, 2 feet 3 1/2 inches; width, 1 foot 9 inches. Restored: small parts of the Apollo relief; in the group on the left side, the greater part of the goat, the right forearm and hand of the priest ; in the group at the back, the greater part of the tree and upper part of the deer. Also part of the lower Sphinxes, and all but one of the upper Sphinxes. Ellis, *Town. Gall.* II., p. 280.



CHAPTER IV

Site of old city — Contrada Torre.

The ancient Greek city of Caprea was spread out over the middle of the wide fertile valley, which connects the two rocky halves of the island, and occupied the district, now known as Contrada Torrè (Dry district), being bounded by the Palazzo a Mare, the Church of San Costanzo, and the Greek steps to Anacapri.

No actual buildings exist, but ancient terraces and cisterns are scattered over the whole of this part of the island, and almost all the houses are constructed on ancient foundations. Numerous antiquities such as coins, mosaic pavements, amphorae, tiles, glass vessels, and fragments of terra cotta have been found, while digging foundations or working the vineyards, in more profusion in this section of the island than in any other part. A further reason, (if such were needed,) why this is almost certainly the site of the old Greek town, is that, then as now, a harbour existed at the Grande Marina; and further, the only good spring of water is within the limits of the ancient city.

During the eighteenth century a marble tablet was discovered in this valley, and subsequently acquired by

Sig. Alexii Aurellii Pelliccia, the following inscription was chisselled in finely out Greek letters.

ΔΗΜΟC . . . ΜΟΥΙC ΕΤΕΙΡΗ
ΚΕΛΑΔΟΝ ΟΥ ΔΑΙΜΟΝ ΒΩΜΟΝ
ΕΠΙΛΟΓΟΝ Κ ΑΓΡΟΝ ΔΗΜΟCΙΟ

This inscription contained an edict forbidding tumults ; and a series of rules were laid down for the regulation of the inhabitants of the Town and surrounding country. (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 185)

Dr. James Roane of Washington U. S. has kindly supplied me with the following note, describing the sarcophagus now to be seen outside the Hotel Grotte Bleue: the measurements were all taken by him with great care and accuracy.

" The ancient sarcophagus now on the terrace of the Hotel Grotte Bleue, was found in the year 1810 in a garden, about one hundred paces to the north of the Church of San Costanzo. It contained the skeleton of a young woman, and some remains of garments richly embroidered in silver and gold, two bracelets, two earrings, and a finger-ring with a cameo setting. The skeleton had in its mouth a gold coin of the head of Vespasian, having on one side the words ;

Imperator Caesar Vespasianus - Aug: Tr. P.

and on the reverse side ;

Fort - red. Cos.

This coin was sold to a foreigner for ten ducats, (about £. 2). The most remarkable object found was a sceptre-like rod, about fifty centimetres long, encircled with three gold bands, which led to the belief that the remains belonged to a member of the Imperial family. Some authors think they may have been those of Crispina, wife of the Emperor Commodus, or of Lucilla his sister, (who was murdered by the Emperor in Capri A. D. 183): both of these royal ladies having, according to Dion Cassius, been banished to the island of Capri. What became of the skeleton, the jewels, and the sceptre-like rod, is not known.

The sarcophagus is 2,04 metres long, 85 centimetres high, and there is no difference in the dimensions at the top and at the bottom. In the centre is a circular cutting 30,5 cm. in diameter, surrounded by a raised bevelled rim, the diameter of the entire ornament being 41 cm. This cutting may once have contained a medallion or an inscription, but there are no evidences now of either, the chiselled surface being quite the same as the rest of the sarcophagus. Just above this circular cutting are the ends of two festoons, which droop gracefully, and are caught up again at either corner. Above and below the ends of these two festoons, in the centre and at each corner, are exquisitely sculptured flying ribbons. The festoons are very heavy in their centre, and taper at their extremities. Above the centre of each of these is a winged head (Medusa?) 18 cm. in diameter, in relief. On each of the four corners are bull's heads, 33 cm. long, by 22 cm. wide. On each narrow side of the sarcophagus, there is a single drooping festoon similar to those above described.

with flying ribbons, above and below each tapering end. Above the centre of the festoon is a rosette 17 cm. in diameter. The top of the sarcophagus is very heavy, gable-shaped, with sphere ornaments rising 12 cm. high at each of the four corners, and is ornamented on its anterior half with scales, fashioned after the manner of the "testudo" formation. They are beautifully cut, each having a central ridge, and are in four rows, sixteen in a series, the lower row having fourteen on account of the corner ornaments.

There is in the centre of each gable on the narrow sides a rosette smaller than those on the narrow sides of the sarcophagus. The posterior side of the sarcophagus, and the posterior half of the lid are rough cut, and without ornament. There are rough chiselled cuttings for metal clamps 22 cm. from each corner on the superior part of the anterior and posterior sides of the sarcophagus, with corresponding cuttings on the lid. The sarcophagus bears no inscription. It is hewn out of a single block of white marble and is massive. It is in an excellent state of preservation, but the lid has a large piece broken off the corner, which however still remains "in situ".

CHAPTER V

Greek stairway to Anacapri.

Until about twenty five years ago the only possible means of communication between Capri and Anacapri was the old Greek stairway, which may still be seen scaling the precipitous mountain side. It is probable that in Roman times Anacapri had its own landing place at Gradelle, but at all events in more recent times, and until the present road was completed, every block of stone, and all the other materials for building, as well as all provisions, had to be transported on the patient heads of the pedestrian islanders.

During the construction of the highway, which was planned and executed by Sigr. Emilio Meyer, and completed in 1877, through the blasting of the rock, and falling of fragments of the cliff, the old stairway was almost entirely destroyed. Not more than 159 of the original steps remain in perfect preservation: they show a breadth of from 5 to 6 feet.

Hadrava says that, in his time, the stairway consisted of 552 steps, and that after ascending about 300 steps, the visitor reached a Chapel with a terrace in front, the view from which dominated all the surrounding country. (Had. Let. XXXI). Mangoni remarks ;

" The stairway of Anacapri, which is wonderfully cut out of the face of the living rock, to a height of more than 1000 feet, deserves observation. It is formed irregularly, and has a serpentine or zig-zag form..... It is composed of 533 steps and the variety of the steep and rugged rocks, which dominate and overhang the steps, render it a unique curiosity ". (Mangoni Ric. Top. p. 39).

Captain Richard Church, (afterwards General Sir Richard Church), who was a Captain in the Corsican Rangers for two years, from October 1806 to September 1808, in command at Anacapri, writing to his sister says ; " The only road from Capri here (Anacapri) is up a rock cut into 600 perpendicular steps..... Fancy me leading a high-spirited Arabian horse up these steps! which I have done, and he is the only horse in the island ". (" Sir Richard Church in Italy and Greece ". E. M. Church).

At Capodimonte, at the head of the steps may be seen the remains of a fort erected by the French, which was still further strengthened by stockades raised by Captain Church during the English occupation of the island.

CHAPTER VI.

Cyclopean wall.

Dr. I. Cerio gives us the following information. " Before entering the Piazza, the archeologist will visit with interest the remains of a wall which extends from the base of Mount Michele to that of Castiglione, along the northern slope of the island, and which serves as foundations to many of the dwellings on this slope. Well preserved traces can be seen under the houses in the place called " i Pizzi ", and on the Castello Road, but to observe them carefully it is necessary to betake oneself to the level ground below. The wall is made in part of large masses of rock worked with the chisel, and showing many angles; but a great part of the stones, which constitute it have rectangular faces, placed in rectangular strata, seldom of the same height, and placed together without cement. This manner of construction is perhaps Phoenician. One sees many examples of this sort of work especially in Phocis, Boetia, and Argolis ". (Note to " Feola ", Chap. V).





Ground plan of Villa Jovis in 1853, (after Alvino).

CHAPTER VII.

Villa Jovis.

If anywhere in Capri, the magnificence and reality of the occupation and dominion of the Caesars, (whether Augustus or Tiberius, matters little), can be best appreciated, and moulded into concrete form, it is at the so-called Villa Jovis at Tiberio, the extreme eastern point of the island, and that which is nearest to the mainland. The position itself is stupendous, and isolated in the highest degree, and seems to be formed by nature as the final retreat of a disappointed potentate. The cliffs drop straight into the sea, one thousand feet below, with menacing precipitousness, and the only approach, by means of a narrow causeway, could have been easily rendered unapproachable to over insistent friend or prying enemy.

In the other Palaces and Villas, to which we have referred, too heavy a strain may be put on the powers of imagination, which (luckily for the harmony of humanity) are very unequally developed in different individuals. We are shown a broken wall, a few pieces of "netted" brick work, or perhaps the shattered remnant of arch or cistern, and are required to reconstruct for ourselves an Imperial Palace glittering with gold, rich with marble statues of colossal size, parterres

brilliant with glowing flowers, and peopled by the Ruler of the earth, and his gorgeous attendant retinue. This to many is difficult, if not impossible, and the tourist, unable to mount to the required heights of fancy, feels himself humiliatæd and out of touch with his surroundings, and doubtless hurries back to his Hotel table d'hôte, where he lustily execrates the phantasmal imaginings of Gregorovius and others. At Villa Jovis on the other hand, the most prosaic Briton can realise without too painful effort, that here indeed stood a mighty Imperial Palace. Here he sees for himself huge chambers, with arched roofs still intact, portions of tessellated pavements, fragments of marble columns, and traces of frescoe on the walls. To still further kindle the lagging imagination the visitor is advised to glance at the reproduction here given of an interesting drawing, made by the architect Sig. F. Alvino in 1853, which shows the remains of the Palace, as they then were.

Weichardt observes; " the similarity of the apportionment of the apartments of the Palace of Augustus on the Palatine, and of this Imperial Palace is astonishing, excepting only that the apartments on the Palatine occupy an area four times as large. This fact must naturally lead us to the assumption, that our last and highest situated palace on Capri was built by Augustus, but possibly somewhat altered by Tiberius, that is to say so far as to suit his special purposes ". (" Capri " Weichardt, p. 99 and 103).

The only one of the Palaces of Tiberius to which Suetonius gives a name is Villa Jovis; " Speculabundus ex altissima rupe identidem signa, quæ ne nuntii morarentur, tolli procul ut quidque foret factum mandaverat.



Fig. 10. The same as Fig. 9, but from a different angle. 1053 (after Alivisopoulos).



Ruins of Villa Jovis and Faro, as they appeared in 1853. (after Alvino).

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and dates.

2.

Verum et oppressa conjuratione Sejani, nihilo securior, aut constantior, per novem proximas menses non egressus est Villa quæ vocatur Jovis". (Suet, Tib, Chap, LXV). This passage may be translated as follows " Meanwhile he was upon the watch from the summit of a lofty cliff, for the signals which he had ordered to be made if anything occurred, lest the messengers should be tardy. Even when he had quite foiled the conspiracy of Sejanus, he was still haunted with fears and apprehensions, insomuch that he never once stirred out of the Villa Jovis for nine months ".

All the writers on Capri prior to Mackowen, have concluded that, we are in the presence of the Villa Jovis, thus described by Suetonius, and though I admit that, logical or definite proof on the point is wanting I am inclined to agree with them. Mackowen observes that there were other palaces " placed on lofty cliffs " besides the one at Tiberio, and mentions San Michele and Monte Solaro; and he contends that the fire-signals, that would be made in case of danger or conspiracy at Rome, would be made from Gaeta, which is on the Appian way, and nearer Rome than the Capo Minerva, (the point on the mainland nearest to Tiberio), " and that from either San Michele or Monte Solaro, such signals could be more easily seen, especially from the latter ". This is perfectly true, as far as it goes, but as we have endeavoured to prove (Chap. XIII. San Michele) no Imperial Palace, but a Temple, stood on that hill; at Monte Solaro there are no traces of a gigantic and magnificent Palace, such as exist at Tiberio.

Again, it seems improbable that Tiberius would have elected to immure himself for nine months in so exposed

and bleak a situation as Monte Solaro, which in winter is swept by every wind that blows, and is often immersed in fog clouds for days together. Apart from the existence at this day of such considerable remains at Tiberio, which clearly demonstrate the existence of an Imperial Palace, is the fact that, no more beautiful spot could have been selected by the Emperor in the whole island for his self-imposed confinement. A Palace placed here commands the entire island, is easily accessible to the landing place at Punta Tragara, and, as stated above, could be made inviolable to friend or foe.

"The palace of a Roman emperor had not, like a modern princely castle, in addition to a few state apartments, some five hundred rooms expressed externally by innumerable windows only, instead thereof, a few vast halls and apartments sufficed, together with a limited number of smaller chambers, for the needs of the ruler of the world. But these few areas were fitted out with the choicest of splendour: the most distant races were compelled to furnish the costliest kinds of marble and wood for the requirements of the Emperor, and the greatest masters required to hold their arts at his disposal. . . . in view of the superabundance of statuary, together with the costly materials, the incrustations of the interior with gold, bronze, and marbles, the costliness of the paintings which distinguished this architectural age, the palaces on Capræ must have stood at the height of the times and have been monuments of Imperial splendour". ("Capri". Weichardt p. 122).

After passing the ruins of the light-house, (See Chap. VIII "Faro"), we come to the alledged Salto: from this point looking North, the ruins of the Imperial

Villa lie before us. The present ascending path nearly follows the ancient principal stairway. Looking down to our left, we see a small, fairly well preserved apartment, (lying nine feet below the present path): this apartment Weichardt regards as the vestibule to the sole official entrance of the Palace: here may be seen some fragments of pavement of black and white "tesserae", and the drums of some columns of "cipollino". In the rear of this apartment, the visitor will observe a niche, which may be regarded as the resting place of the Praetorian on guard, or perhaps a marble statue, or altar rested here. On our right may be seen the remains of three bath-rooms with leaden pipes, which served to conduct the water from huge reservoirs in the overlying masonry. Beneath us may be observed vast cisterns, and indeed we may conclude that this portion of the Palace was devoted to store-rooms, baths, cisterns, and the slave quarters: these cells are lighted by a small slit in the wall: the walls of some of these apartments are still in a tolerable state of preservation, and show traces of red painting, and remains of mosaic pavements.

From the hall on the ground-floor, which is accessible to all the household, a single flight of steps led up to the private apartments of Tiberius, which occupied the first floor of the Palace. The entrance to the Emperor's apartments was probably through a corridor, about three metres in breadth, by which the peristyle and throne-room were reached. "The peristyle, which was never wanting in any Roman residence of the better sort, and still less in an Imperial Palace, was invariably the central point of the dwelling. Sur-

rounded by colonnades, it obtained its light through a large opening in the roof, through which both sun and rain had free admission ". (" Capri ". Weichardt, p. 112-113). Proceeding due south, we reach the substructure of a long apartment, terminating in an apse, which Weichardt considers to have been the triclinium, or dining-room. Other antiquarians, however, hold that the form of this large chamber suggests a theatre, which would be looked for in a Palace of such magnificence and importance. Running round the triclinium or theatre, and facing due east was a semi-circular colonnade; now occupied by the little Chapel of S. Maria del Soccorso, and the walled " bella vista ", in the centre of which is a gilded figure of the Madonna.

Further on to the south is to be seen a level space, which Weichardt, probably correctly, identifies as a private garden. " A particularly stout wall with a semicircular projection still stands on the southern side of the palace, marking of the boundary of the area. As no foundations are found at this place, but on the other hand, a quantity of mould, it is probable that a small, palace garden existed here ". (" Capri ". Weichardt, p. 106).

As we retrace our steps, leaving behind us the peristyle and throne-room, and descending the steps that lead from the little Chapel, we enter on our right a corridor, still paved with the original black and white mosaics. " The sloping almost steep condition of the corridor has led many to conclude that a path led from here to the sea, or else through the rocks to a grotto situated beneath the palace, but the walls — as Alvino still saw them, although they have since then

fallen down at their termination — prove that the corridor only led to the apartments of the palace lying on the western slope of the hill, which were probably reserved for the Imperial suite. Traces of what is to all appearance the same corridor or passage, can be seen lower down the hill, where doubtless was the principal garden of the Villa". ("Capri". Weichardt, p. 111).

Such are some of the chief features of these imposing ruins, but those interested in such matters can easily spend hours in wandering about the various chambers, which are scattered over the hill far down its westerly slope.

The first excavations at Villa Jovis were undertaken in the year 1777, during the reign of Carlo III, by Dr Luigi Giraldi of Ferrara. A pavement was discovered of rare and precious African marbles, "giallo antico", "rosso", and "saravazza". This pavement was most artistically designed and made; (See, Chap. XXX San Costanzo): it is now to be seen in the presbytery of the Church of San Costanzo. (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 88). A statue of white marble in the Greek style was also found in the course of these excavations. This statue, which represented a nymph, came into the possession of Sig. d'Andrea, the Regent of Capri at that time. (Romanelli, p. 84). Other columns of "giallo antico" were also brought to light, which now adorn the altars of the Church of Salvatore belonging to the monks of Santa Teresa. ("Storia dell'Isola di Capri". Canale, p. 292 and Mang. Ric. Top. p. 89).

The second excavation of the Villa Jovis was undertaken in 1806 by Hadrava,* who says; "Of the

twelve Villas alluded to, the most celebrated and conspicuous was that of Jove, situated on the eastern promontory, where was a palace erected by Augustus, and afterwards enlarged by Tiberius. To gain an idea of the magnificence of this Villa, one must observe the great mass of masonry, not only what is today in ruins, but what is buried out of sight. Here one sees the floors of various chambers, as well as numerous cisterns. Everyone marks with surprise a long dark Grotto, hewn out of the living rock. There still exist prisons, where the unhappy Drusus was confined *. (Had. Letter. XIII). Hadrava prepared for publication an account of his excavations with many illustrations, but his death took place before its publication, and the MSS., were lost.

In 1827 the Royal Architect Antonio Bonucci was sent to Capri to examine the site of the Villa Jovis, and consider whether it would be possible to clear away the masonry, which encumbered the various chambers, and excavate the parts, which were covered with earth. Having associated himself with Sig. Atticiati of Naples, Sig. Bonucci expressed the opinion that excavations could be undertaken with valuable results, provided he had the right to acquire the left side which belonged to Francesco Salvio, he was conceded the permission to excavate on the right side, which was part of the Charity lands of the Comune of Capri. The King having given his sanction to this arrangement, by a ministerial order of Oct. 1st 1827, directed Sig. Giuseppe Feola to undertake the work of excavation. (Feola, p. 28). Sig. Feola discovered two marble " puteals " or well-heads, decorated with bas-reliefs, one representing growing



STRENGTHENING

vegetation, and the other the autumn season. Both these "puteals" were sent to the Naples Museum, where they can be seen today. (Feola, p. 30). In Feola's presence another discovery of considerable interest and value was made: this being a marble bas-relief measuring in length about twenty inches. This bas-relief, which is now in the Naples Museum, represents a nude male figure (said by Feola to be Augustus), with wreathed head, and bearing in his right hand a wand. He is mounted on a spirited horse, which is pawing the ground: the horse is being restrained by a groom with a flowing robe. In front of the male figure is seated a female figure, in her right hand she holds a torch, and with the left holds up her drapery. To the right of the group is the nude figure of a boy, holding a basket, and mounted on a wreathed pedestal. To the left of the pedestal is seen a tree, possibly an oak, as Feola says; "there is also an ancient oak, which with its hanging fruit and leaves, forms a complete pavillon". (Feola, p. 30).

Secondo in his "Relazione storica dell'antichità, ruine e residui di Capri", relates that a column of lapislazuli, five feet in height and ten inches in diameter, and elaborately sculptured, was discovered at the Villa Jovis and was sold to an Englishman for 40 scudi.

The precious stones, consisting of sapphires, beryls and garnets which now adorn the mitre of the figure of San Costanzo, were also found at Villa Jovis. (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 89).

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CHAPTER VIII.

The Faro.

This important lighthouse was probably erected by Augustus or Tiberius, not only to light the neighbouring Villa Jovis, but also as a beacon for the grain and treasure ships returning from Alexandria, and making for Pozzuoli, and those on their course to Baia. From the size and importance of the ruins we may suppose that, " in its magnificence and height it must have compared with the celebrated Pharos at Alexandria, erected by King Ptolemy, and executed by the architect Sostrates Gridio, not to mention that of Pozzuoli and Ravenna, described by Pliny the Naturalist ". (Feola. Chap. XI p. 26).

Dean Merivale, gives a vivid and spirited picture of the vast importance of the trade in corn, which all passed through the " bocca ", or channel, which separates Capri from the mainland, and of the consequent importance of the Faro at Villa Jovis. " First in the rank of commerce was the traffic in corn, which was conducted by large fleets of galleys, sailing from certain havens once a year at stated periods, and pouring their stores into her granaries in their appointed order ". Gaul and Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily, Africa and Egypt, were all wheat-producing countries, and contributed of their produce partly as a tax, partly also as an article

of commerce, to the sustentation of Rome and Italy. The convoy from Alexandria was looked for with the greatest anxiety, both as the heaviest laden, and as, from the length of the voyage, the most liable to detention. The vessels which bore the corn of Egypt were required to hoist their topsails on sighting the promontory of Surrentum, both to distinguish them from others and to expedite their arrival. These vessels moreover, according to the institution of Augustus were of more than ordinary size, and they were attended by an escort of war galleys. The importance attached to this convoy was marked by the phrases "auspicious" and "sacred" applied to it.

Statius has a picturesque allusion to the mariner hailing the Isle of Capreæ and pouring his libation before the statue or temple of Minerva on the opposite height:

.... Modo nam trans æquora terris
Prima Dicarchæis Pharium gravis intulit annum:
Prima saluvit Capreas, et margine dextro
Sparsit Tyrrhenæ Maréotica vina Minervæ.

As it neared the Italian coast, its swiftest sailors were detached and gave notice of its approach. Hence it glided rapidly by night and day under the guidance of the Surrentine Minerva on the right, and on the left the lighthouse of Capreæ.

"Teleboumque domos, trepidis ubi dulcia nautis
Lumina noctivagæ tollit Pharus æmula Lunæ."

[Stat, Silv, 3, 5, 100]

A deputation of Senators from Rome was directed to await its arrival at the port where it was about to cast anchor, which from the absence of a haven at

Ostia, was generally at this period Puteoli. As soon as the well-known topsails were seen above the horizon, a general holiday was proclaimed, and the population of the country, far and near, streamed with joyful acclamations to the pier, and gazed upon the rich flotilla expanding gaily before them. Seneca gives a lively account of this circumstance " Cum intravere Capreas et promontorium ex quo alta procelloso speculatur vertice Pallas, cæterae velo jubentur esse contentæ, supparum Alexandrinarum insigne indicium est. " (History of the Romans. " Merivale, Vol. IV. p. 313).

Suetonius tells us that a few days before the death of Tiberius the lighthouse was destroyed by an earthquake. (Suet, Tib, 74).

Statius informs us that it still existed in the time of the Emperor Domitian: we must therefore either discard the story told by Suetonius, or presume that it was rebuilt.

Signor Secondo says that, about the year 1750, he discovered in this district a leaden pipe, on which was cut the name of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, son-in-law of Antoninus Pius. (Feola, Chap. XI).

We learn from the historian Dion Cassius that in the year A. D. 185, Crispina and Lucilla, the wife and sister of the Emperor Commodus were banished to Capri, and put to death by his orders. (Rom. Hist. LXXII. 4).

In 1804 Hadrava made excavations at the Faro, but died before his report was published. We learn however from the notes of Romanelli to Rezzonico (p. 83) that he discovered a splendid bas-relief of Crispina and Lucilla in an attitude of supplication and with dishevelled hair.

The edifice is square, each side measuring 42 feet, and is solidly constructed of brick. The height is 50 feet. The whole of what remains appears to be the first floor, the upper story having been destroyed by lapse of time, or by the shock of an earthquake. On the south side a huge piece of masonry, almost entire, is to be observed, which probably formed part of the arch of a winding stair-way, which led to the top. (Feola, Chap. XI).

On the west side Hadrava found another mass of masonry with squared holes, probably for the reception of beams. He also discovered a subterranean flight of squared stone steps, which led to a floor covered with ashes, which were examined by Signor Poli, who declared them to be of a volcanic character. (Feola, Chap. XI, and Mangoni, *Ric Top*, p. 101). Dr Cerio, in his note to Feola, says " This bed of ashes I have examined many times : it is about one metre in depth, and is derived from an accumulation of the remains of burnt coniferous wood : this one can infer from the small fragments of carbon, which are mixed with the soil. There is no doubt, that during the night huge fires of resinous wood were kept lighted on the top of this Tower ".

Hadrava likewise discovered a tear-bottle of glass, somewhat burnt, a sculptured Faun, and a Doric capital; in another place near the Faro, was found the site of a sepulchre, with a broken tablet, representing three figures, on which was carved the following inscription.

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CHAPTER IX.

Palazzo a Mare.

A little to the west of the Grande Marina is to be observed a flat plateau, on the Eastern side of which is the charming Villa of Mons. G. Dubufe, which has been cunningly built on to an old French fort. The Villa formerly belonged to Mr. Haan, (the Hungarian painter, who died in 1888), in whose time numerous pieces of Egyptian granite inscribed with hieroglyphics were dug up in the garden below. This has led to the fairly reasonable assumption that at some time this spot may have been the site of a Temple of Isis. (Capri. Mackowen, p. 152).

From the above-described plateau to the present so-called Bagni di Tiberio, on the margin of the sea, are continuous traces of Roman remains on a vast and massive scale. Here we may suppose stood a grand summer Palace of immense dimensions, and occupying what cannot but be regarded as one of the most magnificent positions on the island. Cooled by the never failing north-west breezes, with its outer walls laved by the bright transparent wavelets, warmed to an agreeable and tempting heat, by the constancy of the Sun God, neither Roman Potentate or modern million-

aire could find a spot better fitted for languorous dallying, or softly revivifying repose. The vast extent of the walls, the numerous important columns, and the infinite variety and richness of the rare marbles found here in such lavish abundance, still further lead one unavoidably to the conclusion, that in the Roman times this summer Palace must have been one of the chief glories of Capri, and a true triumph of taste and prodigality, as well as an example of the marvellous power of unlimited wealth, and unstinted labour.

Weichardt is of opinion that Augustus was the author of this noble Palace; "He alone, the kind and gracious friend of the inhabitants of the island, could have built his Palace so near to the city — most certainly not Tiberius, the despiser of humanity and misanthrophist, who lived a lonely life on well-guarded mountain tops, with very few confidants. But, in view of the extent of these palatial grounds, the choice can only be between these two builder-emperors". ("Capri" Weichardt; p. 39). Again we will quote from Weichardt, "On ascending the hill by the sea we soon reach a level plateau, situated about 25 metres above the sea-level, which (according to Schoener) is now used as an exercise-ground and measures 90 metres in length by 60 in breadth. In these measurements we find the dimensions of the principal building, which as is shown by the remains of substantial supporting-walls, contained terraces and steps leading right down to the sea, the latter then being, as we already know, 6 metres lower than at the present day. We first come to understand this, after wandering through the area behind, and taking notes of the extensive substructures and arches

standing imperishably and prominently out of the garden grounds. Towards both the east and west too, were wings connected with the main building which, extending along the hillside right down to the then sea-shore, still raise their unadorned, adamantine walls above the waves". ("Capri" Weichardt, p. 40).

In his excavations which began in 1790, and extended over several years, Hadrava brought to light various treasures of which those mentioned below are the most important.

An altar to Cybele was found; being used to ornament the pergola of a house near by! "The altar is cylindrical in form, about, two feet and a half in height, it is ornamented with garlands of corn, various fruit and the head of a goat, the whole being in half-relief" (Had. Let. XIX. Feola. Chap. I). This altar passed into the possession of Sir William Hamilton, whose collection was bought by the British Museum in 1772, and formed the nucleus of a department of antiquities. It included 730 vases, 627 gems and ivories, and 6000 coins. Almost all previous writers have asserted that this altar of Cybele is in the British Museum, this however appears to be an oft-repeated error. I have myself written several letters to the British Museum, and am informed by Mr A. H. Smith, the Assistant Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, that the only statues or bas-reliefs from Capri in the Museum are. (1) A head of Tiberius, with a veil drawn down over the head, as by a person about to offer sacrifice. It was bought by the Museum in 1873 from the great art-dealer Castellani. (2) Well-head (puteal) with figures of Heracles, Omphale, and Satyrs. Townley Collection,

purchased in 1772 from the Colombranò Palace in Naples. (3) Altar, or perhaps base of candelabrum, on square plinth-presented by Sir William Hamilton. (For detailed description and reproduction, see page 128)

A large and splendid pavement of exquisite marbles and of great symmetry: it was composed of " giallo antico ", " serravezza ", and African marbles. (Had. Let. XXX).

Two columns of Egyptian " cipollino ", one whole, the other broken in half: the latter cut into four sections, is now to be seen in the Museum of Naples, supporting four porphyry vases. (Had. Let. XXI).

Two columns of porta-santa, measuring 13 feet in length, and 20 inches in diameter. (Had. Let. XXVIII).

A circular Temple approached by a stair-way of ten steps of marble, which measured $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, and 32 inches in breadth. (Had. Let. XXX).

Another pavement composed of " porta-santa ", " bigio antico ", and " giallo antico ", arranged in geometrical figures. (Had. Let. XXXIX).

A large quantity of " serravezza ", cut into triangles, and probably intended for the construction of a new pavement. (Had. Let. XXX).

A vaulted aqueduct twenty feet in height.

In his various excavations at Palazzo a Mare and the vicinity, Hadrava actually took out and removed sixteen hundred weight of precious marbles.

Feola tells us, (Chap. I) that in his time there were " two moss-grown columns of the celebrated marble called " porta santa ", height $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet, diameter 20 inches, which had been broken in half by a fall ". These columns were still " in situ " about twenty five

years ago, when they were sold to a marble dealer in Naples, and removed from Capri. (See note by Dr Cerio to Feola Chap. I). Feola further mentions numerous "cellars connected one with the other, and in good preservation. Five, each of which measured 47 feet in length and 12 feet in breadth, communicating with each other by five low arched tunnels, by which the water passed from one to the other, were discovered under the vineyard of Signor Morcaldi". (Feola Chap. I). Feola (Chap. II) also mentions four similar connecting cellars, "on the east an extension of the ruins of other cellars, arranged in such manner as to lead to the opinion, that they must have served for the foundations of a royal and imperial road of communication, from the above mentioned Villa to another magnificent Villa situated in the higher region of Fontana". In the same chapter Feola says; "I found four other enormous cellars of great strength measuring 166 feet in length, and 32 feet in breadth. At the bottom was found an immense quantity of the finest chalk, which is supposed to have been used for the purpose of filtration. This deposit when dried presented a metallic blue colour, from which Signor Secondo argues that, these cisterns may have been used to produce those delicate vases, like the celebrated ones introduced from Pompeii after the Mithridatic war, and called "Murrini"; these vases are mentioned by Pliny the elder". (Feola Chap. II).

"Murrhime vessels come from the East, in numerous localities of which, remarkable for nothing else, they are, to be found. It is in the empire of the Parthians especially that they are met with, though

those of the very finest quality come to us from Carmania. It is generally thought that these vessels are formed of a moist substance, which under ground becomes solidified by heat. In size they never exceed a small waiter (abacus), and as to thickness they rarely admit of being used as drinking-cups, so large as those already mentioned. The brightness of them is destitute of strength, and it may be said that they are rather shining than brilliant. But their chief merit is the great variety of their colours and the wreathed veins, which every here and there, present shades of purple and white, with a mixture of the two: the purple gradually changing as it were to a fiery red, and the milk-white assuming a ruddy hue. Some persons praise the edges of these vessels more particularly with a kind of reflection in the colours, like those beheld in the rain-bow, others again, are more pleased with them when quite opaque, it being considered a demerit, when they are at all transparent, or of a pallid hue. The appearance too of crystals in them is highly prized, and of spots that look like water warts: not prominent, but depressed as we mostly see upon the human body. The perfume too of which they smell, is looked upon as an additional recommendation". (Pliny Nat. Hist. Book XXXVII, Chap. 8).

Dean Merivale in his "History of the Romans" says; "I believe it is now understood, that the murrha of the Romans was not porcelain, as has been supposed from the line "Murrheaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis". (Propert. IV, 5, 26) but an imitation in coloured glass of a transparent stone. (Book IV, Chap. 39).

Weichardt says; " In addition to the Grand Palace by the Sea, it would appear that imperial villa-residences existed in other spots, and in touch with the ancient city , and that these were probably occupied either by members of the imperial family or by favorites. But is equally possible that the same belonged to rich citizens. On two sites many chambers with mosaic pavements, Roman handiwork, cisterns, tanks, and terrace-walls which must have belonged to extensive palaces, or villa-grounds, have been disinterred. Again, in addition to five headless marble statues, the colossal imperial statue , now in Rome , for the missing head of which (as mentioned by Hadrava) that of Tiberius was substituted , was found here ". (" Capri " Weichardt, p. 41).

CHAPTER X.

Palace at Punta Tragara.

Hadrava is of the opinion, that at Punta Tragara stood an Imperial Place, and says that in his time a large aqueduct, and many Roman remains had been found there. (Had. Chap. XVI).

Mangoni follows suit, and argues from the beauty of the situation, the southern aspect, and the remains of a Roman road that led to this spot, that an Augustan, or Tiberian Villa must have crowned this eminence: he adds "all the antiquarians have been of opinion that here stood another vast Augustan Tiberian Villa". (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 133).

Weichardt endeavours from another stand-point to prove that an Imperial Villa existed at Punta Tragara. "We learn that Masgabas, one of the favorites of Augustus, had died the year preceding the Emperor's last visit to Capri, and that on the adjacent island (which by way of a joke, had been nicknamed "the Island of Sloth"), was the tomb holding the remains of Masgabas, to whose memory, during the banquet given by the Emperor to the indigenous Greek youths, torch-light honors were being paid. Now, with the exception, of the inaccessibly steep and rocky Faraglioni, there is only one single rocky island of moderate

dimensions (known to day as "Monacone"), which is broad rather than high, lying, in the neighbourhood of Capri. This is near the Faraglioni and contains not only the remains of a Roman tomb, but also of an antique stair-way, cut out of and into the rocks". "At the banquet Augustus gazed down upon this islet, as we must assume, from one of his Villas. But of all the places at which (as is proved by the finding of antique remnants) Roman sites could have existed, there is but one which can possibly agree with the above description as that from which the islet Monacone can be overlooked, and that is the precipitous foreland now known as Punta Tragara on the south side of the island". ("Capri" Weichardt, pp. 37, a 38).

"In good truth, the present Punta Tragara furnished a wonderful position for an Imperial castle which, at this spot, formed the final link of this chain of rich Villas, and it was well worth the trouble of an Emperor to direct that employment should be given to hundreds of busy hands in chiselling the steep rock to the extent required". ("Capri" Weichardt, p. 75).

A beautiful pavement found at Punta Tragara can now be seen in the Church of San Stefano and is thus described by Dr. I. Cerio; "There was recently collected in the Chapel of Rosario in this Cathedral another pavement of "saravezza" and yellow marble, with fillets of "rosso antico". This was found a few years ago among the remains of a sumptuous Villa of the time of Tiberius at Punta Tragara and saved from destruction by the Parish priest, who superintended its removal to, and preservation in the Church". (Note by Dr. Cerio to Feola Chap. V).

CHAPTER XI.

Palace at Unghia Marina.

This Villa or Palace, which is generally attributed to Augustus, is situated a little to the east of Certosa, on the very edge of the cliff, the site being now occupied by the modern Villa Mercedes.

The following is the account given by Feola, who discovered it in 1826; " The site, not far from Tragara on the western slope of the mountain Tuore Grande, was on the pleasant eminence of Unghia Marina. Here were found bricks used in the construction of the Villa marked,

YACINTHI
JULIAE
AUGUSTAE

as well as many valuable marbles some of which were ornate, " of vivid colour with the figures of birds painted on them. The remains of a precious fragment of a pavement of rare marbles of exquisite design was also discovered in this spot, and transferred to the National Museum of Naples ". (Feola, Chap. VIII).

Feola was of the opinion, based on the discovery of the bricks stamped with the words YACINTHI JULIAE AUGUSTAE, that this Villa was built by Au-

gustus for the use of his daughter Julia. This view is not however tenable for the following reasons: in the first place this Julia Augusta was certainly Livia the wife of Augustus, who was so called after the Emperor's death. Again the following quotations from two such recognised authorities as Middleton and Lanciani will convince the reader that it was not customary for Roman builders to stamp their bricks with the name of the intended occupant of the house they were constructing. "The stamps which occur on the bricks of buildings of Imperial Rome are of great value in determining the dates of various structures..... Various names and facts are recorded on these stamps e. g. the names of the Consuls, though rarely: of much more frequent occurrence is the name of the owner of the brickfield from which the clay came, and that of the potter (figulus) who made the brick: after his name comes the phrase "Valeat qui fecit"—may the maker prosper". (Remains of Ancient Rome, Middleton, Vol. I, p. 13).

"Roman bricks are often stamped with a seal, the legend of which contains the name of the owner and manager of the kilns, of the maker of the tile, of the merchant intrusted with the sale of the products, and of the Consuls under whose term of office the bricks were made". ("Destruction of Ancient Rome". Lanciani, p. 39). Further corroboration of this view is supplied by Dr. I. Cerio' (Note to Feola Chap. VIII,) in which he remarks that in 1880 upon the discovery of another supposed Palace or Villa at Punta Tragara, a large number of bricks with a similar inscription were found.

CHAPTER XII.

Villa or Thermæ of Castiglione.

On a rock plateau, which lies below the final cone of the Monte Castiglione excavations were commenced by Hadrava in 1786. Probably no site on the island has been so thoroughly ransacked as this spot, and the untiring perseverance of Hadrava met with unqualified success, as will be seen, when I proceed to enumerate in detail the treasures which he unearthed.

" Here once stood ", says Weichardt, " a temple or perhaps a treasure house, this, at least, is the conclusion one is induced to arrive at after inspecting a semicircular antique wall continued right to the edge of the rocks, which still retains in part its net-like tile-facing. The remains of a second wall, introduced in large concentric curves, which resembles a retaining-wall, are also to be found here. The actual Villa however, joined on to this last mentioned ringed-wall ". (" Capri " Weichardt p. 78).

I will now proceed to enumerate the principal results of the excavations of Hadrava. At a depth of 6 or 7 feet he found a house consisting of five rooms, communicating with each other. The walls were beautifully frescoed and the colours so bright, that

they might have been laid on only yesterday. The pavement of the first room (which was vaulted), was of simple cement. In the second and third room were found large quantities of coloured marbles: the second room had a pavement of bricks (*tavolozze*) which were about 13 inches square, and many of which were inscribed with the maker's name. " Finally on the day before my departure I was the witness of a most gratifying sight. At the depth of eight feet was discovered a marble vase. It was large and round, and ornamented with figures in bas-relief, and weighed 160 pounds. The form is very elegant and represents a sacrifice ". (Had. Let. VIII).

A bas-relief was found here, representing four figures, one having a bag-pipe in his mouth, two carrying torches, and the fourth having a well-bucket attached to a long rope, which he is about to lower into a well. (Romanelli p. 80). In the third year of the excavations (1789) Hadrava discovered in the fourth room a very fine pavement. Mackowen says, " probably the most perfect and best preserved of all the antique pavements ". (Mackowen p. 169). It was composed of " *giallo antico* ", " *torchino venato* ", and " *rosso antico* ", and measured 20 feet in length by 15 in breadth. Hadrava took the pavement to Naples to be restored, after which it was on exhibition at his own house for a year. It was then removed to the Museum at Naples and subsequently sold to the King, who placed it in the Favorita Palace at Portici. (Romanelli p. 81).

Hadrava's account of the little Festa, which he organised on the occasion of the pavement being first exhibited to the King, is so quaint that I have transcribed

it in full; " I informed the King of my joyful discovery. The King appointed a day to visit it, and I immediately sent to Naples for two marble workers to clean and polish the pavement with pumice stone. When all was ready the King after dinner arrived with the gentlemen of his suit, and a great company. As soon as he arrived at the fourth room, four of the workmen threw on water, and the pavement appeared in all its beautiful brilliancy, at this moment the sun shot forth a ray of sunshine. His Majesty seeing it said " It is superb. I observe the rare geometrical composition, the rhombi, the rhomboids, and the square-sided figures, and also the charm of coloured marbles red, yellow, and white ". From thence I conducted the King by a little path to a loggia which I had excavated at the same time, whence he ascended by ten steps to another pavement of mosaics. When His Majesty approached, he encountered an unexpected scene, for the work-people were seated inside at two tables, on one side the men, and on the other side the women, according to their custom, having macaroni freshly prepared before them. Upon the arrival of the King they all cried out, " Evviva! Evviva! " Then they began to grate cheese over the macaroni, and in a few moments they had eaten about forty pounds, but with such skill that the King was highly amused; they seized as much of the hot macaroni as they could grasp with their five fingers, raised it in the air, and whirling it round two or three times threaded it into their mouths, as a housewife threads her needle. After this they danced the tarantella to the accompaniment of a tambourine, and lute. A peasant, Niccolo, aged 80 years, opened the dance

with one of the youngest girls , and this respectable old man danced with vivacity, joy and skill. So finished the Festa , and the King retired perfectly satisfied " (Had. Let. X).

Hadrava not being always able to give his attention to the excavations in person , requested the governor to take charge of the work in his absense. " All the superb marbles , which were found in this fourth excavation were transported to the Governor's house, and among them were discovered a fragment of a bas-relief, which representes a Sacrifice in which is seen a Victory, a head of Tiberius , and a Genius with a platter, all executed in the Greek style. They have all become the property of Prince Schwartzburgh who spent several months in Capri , in the character of ambassador extraordinary upon the occasion of the coronation of the Emperor ". (Had. Let. XII). During the fourth excavation conducted by the Governor , an aqueduct was exposed " with various leaden pipes which ran round the four sides , and conducted the water to all the rooms , which I had excavated in the previous year. Therefore I clearly perceived that the chamber , where I found the pavement , served for a bath , because from one side entered the pipes for " hot water and on the other for cold. In the preceding room were also observed small furnaces. These aqueducts were so large that a man could hide himself in them ". (Had. Let. XIV).

Hadrava also found the heads of two children, one laughing and the other crying both in the Greek style. These were sent to Rome to the celebrated German sculptor Tripple. A fine cameo with the head of

Germanicus was brought to light at the same time. (Had. Let. XVII) and presented to the Empress Catherine of Russia. (Romanelli, p. 82). Hadrava further discovered numerous lamps, tiles, and pieces of delicately worked stucco, one representing a very beautiful child, another a Genius, the third a hippogriffin, and another a maiden tinted in colour. (Had. Let. XXVI).

From the extensive baths and immense aqueduct discovered at Castiglione by Hadrava, Mangoni formed the opinion that this Villa merely served as a bathing establishment, accessory to an important Imperial Villa, which has not yet been brought to light. (Mang. Ric. Top. Chap. XIV). Stamer in "Dolce Napoli" also speaks of these remains at Castiglione as "The Thermæ". Some weight is lent to this view of Mangoni, by the following observation of Feola. "We may assume that the apartments of this Villa extended as far as the neighbouring district of Valentino, because in 1823 the colono Natale Catuogno, in digging on his land found some tablets of marble, which formed part of a pavement of antique marbles of different colours; when I was informed of this, I visited the spot, and recognising the value of the discovery, made a report to the proper authorities, and in the year 1825 with the approval of the King, the pavement was removed to the Royal Museum at Naples". (Feola. Chap. VI).

Dr. I. Cerio in his note to this Chapter adds that in this same district at various times large lead pipes, a bronze key, which is now in the National Museum at Naples, fragments of statues, bronze utensils, and a Greek inscription have been found. In the district of

Valentino was also found a slab of marble with the inscription ;

ΘCANΩ OHNIKOY
XAIPC

(Mang. Ric. Top, p. 178). This tablet may now be seen at Villa Cesina.

From Dr. Cerio's " Note to Feola " Chapter VI, we learn that in 1857, Cav. Bonucci then Director of excavations at Pompeii, acting under the Government of Naples, pursued the excavations on the farm of Arcangelo Aucellone, and found many rooms with coloured stucco and pavements of mosaic or marbles; in one of these, which was painted yellow, he found the doorposts of a door in statuary marble. The pavement consisted of 700 sheets of " africano " and " giallo antico " marble with a beautiful framing of " rosso antico ".

Unhappily no traces of the extensive excavations of Hadrava, so naively described in his letters, remain; the splendid baths, the house with five chambers, the aqueducts have all been covered with earth by the thrifty peasants (in 1791); as Mangoni says, " to enable them to plant a few scanty vines ".

CHAPTER XIII

Temple of San Michele.

The hill of San Michele occupies a unique position, and from its semicircular cone-like form is ever an object of interest in the landscape. Dominating, as it does the ancient City of Capreæ, one would naturally expect to find here some signs of Roman remains. As a matter of fact in mounting the hill from the south the remains of an ancient road arrest the attention of the visitor. Hadrava is very brief, all he has to say is; " There exists there various pedestals of columns, as well as the ruins of masonry, and a road shows itself, which leads to the summit of the hill. Finally we perceive various vaults, an aqueduct, and reservoirs for water, which one may suppose were placed there for the support of gardens ". (Had. Let. XVI).

Feola, who seems to be the chief authority on the remains on San Michele, (Mangoni simply copying him), remarks, " Here the Roman Emperor built a magnificent Palace, and a large and commodious road by which to ascend. The ruins of the Palace are first observed about half way up the hill. They consist of a vast vaulted edifice which leads to the top of the hill. The measurements are, length 80 feet, breadth 13

feet, and height 17 feet. The solidity of the walls is surprising. On the right of the entrance the stranger will admire numerous square connecting chambers, each measuring about 14 feet: the line of these chambers follows the curve of the hill. These chambers communicate with each other by means of a line of arches, (of the height of a man), and are plastered with a mortar of pebbles, and with "lacerti" (arms or braces) in all the corners, like those in the Camerelle At the entry are visible twenty one chambers in line, all of equal size, in good preservation and facing south, and many others equally well preserved facing north. One can still recognise on the limestone rock the marks of tools, which were used to widen the road, in the same manner as can be seen on the road which leads to Tragara ". (Feola. Chap. X).

What was the purpose of this road? " Did a columned pergola run round the mountain here forming a flower-clad promenade? Was it made to serve as a corso for racing and processions to be held on the steep island, which in a few spots only, allowed of level locomotion? Or was it a road, whereon the Greeks and Romans of the Imperial Court, and the officers of the Prætorian guard caused their horses to gambol in sight of the Villa-rich island, and of the vast Bay of Naples? Was it made to serve as a racecourse, which for want of level ground, encircled the mountain, and was perhaps used to reproduce the pleasures of the Capital on the Imperial country-seat? " (" Capri ". Weichardt. p. 81).

" The plateau on the top of the hill appears to be formed in part of rock cut into shape, and is built

on long parallel arches, supported by a solid wall. The form of this upper plateau is perfectly regular, the length is about 230 feet, and the breadth 103 feet " (Feola. Chap. X). " Underneath this plateau and facing north may be seen a rude vaulted chamber, which measures in length 190 feet, 11 feet in breadth, and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height. This building has been for many years used as a Chapel dedicated to S. Michele ". (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 164).

No regular scientific excavations have ever been made on San Michele, but Romanelli says; " We observed many rocks cut in a circular form, which served without doubt for the bases of columns. Here too were discovered two columns of " cipollino " (now in the possession of Mr. C. C. Coleman). I also noticed remains of half buried ruins. Below are to be observed the traces of a road, which leads to the top of the hill ". (Romanelli, p. 107). Feola found portions of statues, fragments of columns of " giallo antico " and " rosso antico ".

It seems clear that this rectangular space on the summit of San Michele must have been the site of a Roman temple, and not of a Palace, for the following reasons; (1) To anyone conversant with the plan and form of ancient temples, it is apparent that the foundations which still appear, suggest the familiar form of such a structure. (2) The presence of the broad road circling round the hill, and admirably adapted to sacred processions. (3) The fact that a temple must have existed in Capri, and that no other site has been assigned, or seems suitable for such a purpose. (4) The remains of the base of a column of white marble still

exist, which show that the original measurements of the columns must have been 90 centimetres in diameter at the base, with a total height of 8 to 11 metres. It is highly improbable that this height belonged to the facade of an Imperial palace, which was always from two to three stories high. ("Capri". (Weichardt, p. 83). (5) That in the substructure is found a Christian Chapel, intended as an atonement and consecration of this seat of heathen worship. (Weichardt p. 84). These points are very lucidly treated and enlarged upon by the following passages from Weichardt, "At about the last third of the altitude of the mountain we still see to this day well preserved in its contours, an antique highway 12 metres in breadth, which runs round the mountain for about one kilometre. On the outer side this circular highway, where the steep nature of the ground rendered it necessary, was supported by mighty masonry, thus giving rise to cellarage and tanks, whereas on the east and north sides the inner side of the ring was cut out of hard rock. Up to the height of 4 metres, the slope of the hill was converted into a perpendicular wall, (which still bears the marks of the chisel), and thereby a terrace climbing round the mountain in an oval line was produced, which is in respect of beauty of position without a rival". ("Capri". Weichardt. p. 80).

"On the southern side of the horizontal road, and in front thereof, the vaulted walls of a not unimportant building, are still standing: these enclose an anteroom, as well as a hall 25 metres long by 4 metres in breadth. It is possible that on this spot may have stood a large and splendid arch way in harmony

with the grand terrace, a propylaeum (gateway), or other structure, in connexion with the building on the summit of the mountain ". (" Capri ". Weichardt p. 81). " On the northern side, the retaining wall is of antique workmanship and made of a cement composed of exceedingly hard rubble-stone. This is in a complete state of preservation, whereas on the other side it has been extended, probably by the English, who at the beginning of the 19th century, built here a fort and in so doing destroyed such parts of the ruins as may have remained ". (" Capri ". Weichardt p. 82). " If, as is assumed on all sides, (to judge by the foundations), an Imperial palace also stood here, it can only have been a rectangular building without any projecting parts, and consequently, quite different to that which one finds everywhere else in connection with the Capri palaces—which show various groups of buildings. This simple ground plan it is which gives rise to the idea that we, possibly have to do here with another style of edifice, namely with a temple ". (" Capri ". Weichardt. Capri p. 82). " It is certainly very remarkable that until now nobody has succeeded in proving the existence of temples on Capri; there can be no question that such existed here, and that they were not built solely by the Greeks. Nevertheless, none of the ruins still remaining are suited to a temple; the large square on the Monte San Michele is the only foundation suited to serve as the basis of a temple ". (" Capri " Weichardt. p. 82).

CHAPTER XIV

Camerelle.

The " Camerelle " (little chambers) are a succession of vaulted chambers which run parallel with the road, leading from the Hotel Quisisana to the Punta Tragara. Those lying between the Hotel Quisisana and Villa Camerelle have recently been turned into shops ; but the original form and character of the " camerelle ", can be seen in the garden of Villa Camerelle, and again further on in the garden of La Certosella.

" Here are to be seen a long extent of masonry in the form of equal and continuous rooms , lying beneath the ancient and magnificent Imperial road , which extended from Villa Castiglione to another Villa, which seems to have been placed at the Punta Tragara ". The front part of this track of ancient masonry is formed of short arches of equal size , the chord of each does not exceed 14 feet, supported by solid walls. The front half seems to be in ruins, and the inside is covered with hard plaster made of pebbles having in the corners " lacerti " (arms or braces): these are an unfailing sign that the chambers not only served to form the foundation of a large and well built road , but being in communication with each other , these

chambers were well adapted to collect and store rain water ". (Feola. Chap. VII).

The form of these arches is semicircular, and this has led Signor Secundo to infer that they formed the remains of an Amphitheatre.

Conte Rezzonico considers that they formed the foundations of an Imperial Villa , while Hadrava and Signor Romanelli are of opinion that these connected chambers , are the site of the famous " Sellarie " of Tiberius, described by Suetonius. Though we entirely disagree with the conclusion arrived at by Hadrava, it may interest the reader to peruse his remarks. " The whole accumulation of arcades, walls, vaults and rooms indicate that here was situated the famous or infamous " Sellarie ", where it is said Tiberius designed a College of Lust, in which the youth of either sex exercised themselves with the monstrous figures of the " Spintria ", to excite the languid powers of the Emperor. It is added that Tiberius made here various chambers in which were placed models of " Elephantide ". " Finally " he constructed in the groves and woods retreats " sacred to Venus, where in the dress of nymphs and " satyrs they satisfied their impure desires. In proof " of this, there was found on this spot the remains of " ancient painting, and even medals, which they called " " Spintrie ", which have on one side an obscene " position , and on the other a number. We do not " know if this number refers to the numbers of the " rooms, or the posture. A medal of the form and " size of these " Spintrie " was found here, on which " one sees on the front a head with this epitaph " C. " Mitreius. Mag. Juven. " and on the reverse side a

" building of an oval shape, which perhaps represents
" that of the " women's rooms ", and explains that
" this C. Mitreius was the Director of the infamous
" school, or " Sellaria ". (Had. Let. XVI).

Addison in his " Remarks on Italy " says; " They often find medals in this island. Many of these they call the Spintriae, which Aretin has copied, have been dug up here..... Those I have conversed with about it, are of opinion they were made to ridicule the brutality of Tiberius, though I cannot but believe they were stamped by his order. They are unquestionably antique, and no bigger than medals of the third magnitude. They bear on one side some lewd invention of that hellish society which Suetonius calls " monstrosi concubitus repertoires ", and on the other the number of the medal. I have seen as high as to twenty. I cannot think they were made as a jest on the Emperor, because raillery on coins is of a modern date ".

Thus finally does the pure and logical Feola crush the heated imaginings of Hadrava; " These opinions vanish when one reflects on the details; these continous chambers not being adorned with that elegance, which would be demanded especially in " Sellarie ". (Feola, Chap. VII). " Thus it seems not to be in doubt, that the above described ruins called " Le Camerelle ", formed the street of communication between the Villa of Castiglione and Valentino, as far as the higher part of Tragara, where one cannot doubt stood another Imperial Villa long since destroyed by time, and the ruthless hand of man. " (Feola, Chap. VII).

In our examination of the Roman remains in Capri, we must not lose sight of the fact that, the

Romans, more far-sighted and more luxurious than ourselves, never failed to make ample provision for a generous supply of water; their needs were immense: provision had to be made for innumerable troops of slaves and animals; the constant watering of their gardens; and above all, for the baths, which were so indispensable to every right-minded Roman, and for which never failing streams of water must be available.

A much later writer, Colonel Mackowen says; "The Camerelle were a series of cells, formed by arches, closed at both ends, and were used as cisterns, for catching and preserving rain water; and on the top of the arches was a road which led from Tragara to Castiglione; back of these cells exist other cisterns much larger, and the quantity of water which could be collected in them must have been immense..... The cisterns of Camerelle were not only built to furnish water for the baths and household of Tiberius, but some years ago a canal was discovered, which led down to the Port of Tragara, and in this canal were found leaden pipes, which could have been used only for conveying drinking water to the Roman fleet". Mackowen, "Capri" p. 174).

CHAPTER XV

Molo and Scoglio della Sirena.

The harbour on the south side of the island, overshadowed by the towering heights of Monte Solaro, is called by foreigners the Piccola Marina: the islanders however invariably speak of it as the Mulo, which is probably a corruption of Molo, the Italian word for a Port or Mole. On the west side can be seen above and below the sea-level, immense masses of Roman masonry. These ruins are in all probability the remains of a break-water, which existed in ancient times; "there was need of a Port at this point to contain the ships of the Emperor, which were always kept in readiness". (Feola. Chap. III).

"It may be assumed that in addition to the harbour works, other settlements, possibly small country houses and baths stood here, and that the same have been destroyed, and partially cast into the sea, for such remains are still to be seen on the sea-shore". ("Capri". Weichardt. p. 47).

SCOGLIO DELLA SIRENA

A flat mass of rock of considerable size extends from this beach, which from the remotest age of History has retained the name of " Scoglio della Sirena " being the special place frequented by the sirens, according to the annotation of Servius, referring to the passage in the Fifth Book of the Aeneid. (Feola. Chapter

CHAPTER XVI.

Monacone.

The island of Monacone lies a little to the east of the Faraglioni rocks. The top of the island is reached by a hole, through which the climber passes over rough rocks, until he reaches an ancient flight of steps which leads to a crescent shaped slope measuring 500 feet by 100 and shelving towards the east.

This little islet has acquired a fictitious fame, quite out of proportion to its size, from the fact that it has been identified as the " Island of Sloth ", or the " City of the Do-littles ", referred to by Suetonius in the following passage, which is perhaps worthy of being transcribed in full. " Augustus called an island near Capri *Απραγοπολις* " the City of the Do-littles ", from the indolent life which several of his party led there. A favourite of his, one Masgabas, (who seems by his name to have been of African origin), he used to call *Κτιστής*, as if he had been the planter of the island. And observing from his room a great company of people with torches, assembled at the tomb of this Masgabas, who died the year before, he uttered very distinctly this verse, which he made extempore.

" *Κτιστου δὲ τῦμβο. εισορῶ πουρούμενον* "

Blazing with lights, I see the founder's tomb.

Then turning to Thrasyllus, a companion of Tiberius, who reclined on the other side of the table, he asked him, who knew nothing about the matter, what poet he thought was the author of that verse: and on his hesitating to reply, he added another.

“ Ὅρᾳς φάσσαι Μασγάβην τιμώμενον „

Honor'd with torches Masgabas you see :

and put the same question to him concerning that likewise. The latter replying that, whatever might be the author, they were excellent verses, he set up a great laugh, and fell into an extraordinary vein of jesting upon it ". (Suet. Aug. 98).

There is no accessible island near Capri other than the Monacone, we must therefore perforce take it for granted, notwithstanding its insignificance, that on the plateau forming the top of this rocky islet, the pampered and nerve worn companions of Augustus exerted themselves in doing nothing, an accomplishment which in these latter days has not entirely been lost by the dwellers in Capri.

Feola says; " Here too one recognises remains of ancient brick work. This has led me to the opinion, that it may be the tomb in which was buried Masgasbas, the favorite of the Emperor, the year before his last coming to this island ". (Feola Chap. VIII).

" The island of Monacone still has remains of a tomb, from which however the sarcophagus, if one ever existed, has been removed ". (Mackowen. Capri p. 178 and Mang. Ric. Top. p. 137).

CHAPTER XVII

Certosa.

The Certosa Cloisters, on the south side of the island, occupy a warm and sunny plateau between the hills of Castiglione and Telegrafo. A fruitful sheltered valley skirts this huge block of buildings on the east. As is well known, all Carthusian monasteries in Italy are called " Certosa ", this being the Italian equivalent of " Chartreuse ", the noble monastery in southern France, where the founder St. Bruno retired. Until quite recently the Certosa has been used as a Military Prison of Discipline.

" On its eastern side antique Roman walls are seen, which serve as foundations for the monastery walls, and it is very probable that the builders of this religious house used antique foundations in a great measure, for many antique walls can be seen in the vicinity ". (Mackowen, " Capri ", p. 172). Hadrava also places here an Imperial residence. (Had. Let. XV and Romanelli, p. 87).

" There can be no doubt that an Imperial palace once stood here whose builder was Augustus , while the wide court yards surrounded by halls and massive

building-complexes, which we can detect today look more like a Roman Palace than Cloisters. Again in the cloister garden, enclosed within a high wall, are still found Roman foundations, fractions of marbles and coins: but it is more particularly on the elevation in the south-west, on which two narrow rocks connected by an arch form a plateau, that a small building appurtenant to the Palace probably stood ". (" Capri ", Weichardt p. 58 & 59). The enormous cisterns, which in time of a water famine are thrown open for the use of the people, are also unquestionably of Roman construction.

" During the reign of Joanna, I, Giacomo Arcucci, Count of Minervino and Altamura, founded the monastery called Certosa, and by a deed dated May 1st 1372 the Queen granted considerable tracts of land on the island to this Carthusian monastery, whose construction commenced that same year ". (Mang. Ric. Stor, p. 356). Some years afterwards Arcucci fell into disgrace with the powers that be, and sought shelter at Certosa, where the monks received him affectionately, and where he died in 1397. The monks gave him a stately funeral, and erected in his memory a handsome marble tomb in the monastery Church.

The Monastery of Certosa was thus described by Hadrava more than a century ago; " The fathers possess all the ground in this part of the island, and much elsewhere both in Capri and on the mainland. There are only fourteen of them, with a revenue of 12,000 ducats (about £2000), who give away in alms enough corn and bread for the wants of the poorest in the island, besides contributing to various extraordinary

expenses of the Bishop: They make the best bread and an excellent " rosolio ", or liqueur. They are now and then engaged in litigation with the Chapter, for the simple reason that wealth opposed to beggary brings forth envy ". (Had, Let, XXV). The dismantled Church of San Salvatore is of fine proportions, 159 feet long by 40 in width. The altar has been removed to a Church at Posilippo.

CHAPTER XVIII

Palazzo Inglese.

By far the most conspicuous block of buildings on the north side of the island is the Palazzo Inglese, or Canale. Embedded in orange groves it faces full north, and from its broad and ample loggia commands all the lower part of the island. It was erected by Sir Nathaniel Thorold, a Lincolnshire Baronet, who having run through his fortune at home, retired to Italy and established at Genoa a trade in salt and dried codfish, from which he realised a considerable fortune. He eventually determined to enjoy the fruits of his labour in peace and leisurely seclusion, and came to Capri, where he erected the Palazzo Inglese, which was at that time, and long continued, the most imposing mansion on the island. The date of his arrival in Capri is not certain, but he is known to have died in 1764. After his death the Palazzo passed into the possession of the Canale family. Those, who would learn more of the interesting romance connected with Palazzo Inglese should consult "Dolce Napoli" by Stamer, pp, 242 to 246,

"During the visit of twelve or fifteen days made to the island by King Ferdinand IV of Naples, he was

quartered with all his suite in the house of Thorold, a rich English merchant, who passing his life here for many years, built a house like a castle, and adorned it with English furniture, and every convenience. After he had finished his happy days, the house passed to the family of Canale, to whom he had left it. This is the most beautiful house on the island, and charmingly situated. On going out of the drawing-room, one comes to a loggia, from which is seen a magnificent picture, the entire island being spread out like an amphitheatre, while opposite the shores of Naples can be clearly distinguished ". (Had. Let. IV).

During the French attack on Capri in 1808, Colonel, afterwards Sir Hudson Lowe, (who was destined later to figure as the tactless and ungenerous gaoler of Napoleon at St. Helena) made the Palazzo Inglese his headquarters. This naturally concentrated on himself and his abode the relentless fire of the French batteries. As may still be seen, the French " held straight ", and the Palazzo was left in a somewhat dilapidated condition, from which it has never entirely recovered.

" In front of the entrance " says Feola " one perceives a block of stone of oblong form, measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot in length and 9 inches in breadth, which is used as a threshold. An inscription in Greek characters can be seen on the stone, and though worn away by constant traffic, is not entirely erased, as the letters were originally deeply cut. It is possible to make out the following

ΓΝΑΙΟΣ
ΜΕ : ÷ ΑΚΛΕΟΣ
Ι' ΠΕΣΤΑΝ

Gneus Magacles Patronus Pestanorum ". (Feola Chap. V.). About fifteen years ago this stone was acquired from the Canale family by the late Mr. Wreford , and was removed by him to his Villa Cesina, where it still can be seen. The stone was in all probablity a boundary stone, to mark the limits of the property of Magacles.

CHAPTER XIX

Roman remains at Anacapri.

Feola assumes that twelve Imperial Palaces were erected on the island either by Augustus or Tiberius, but he only finds in the present Commune of Capri the remains of six such Palaces of sufficient magnitude to be considered Imperial Palaces, he concludes that the remainder must be looked for in Anacapri. He accordingly enumerates the following districts as having been the sites of Imperial Palaces, which he inclines to attribute to Augustus :

CAPO DI MONTE ;
IL POZZO ;
MONTICELLO ;
VETERINO ;
DAMECUTA.

(Feola. Chap. XIV).

Whether these Villas were Imperial Palaces, or merely the country houses of rich and influential attendants on the Emperors, is, and must always remain, matter of conjecture. Certain it is that, at all the above places in Anacapri, considerable and unmistakeable

Roman remains were visible in the time of Feola and Mangoni. Having regard to the magnificent and commanding situation of Damecuta, placed, " on a four-sided eminence " and to the enormous extent of the remains to be seen at Il Pozzo, it may not be rash to assume at any rate that, these two latter were Imperial Palaces.

Capo di Monte.

Excavations were conducted here by Duke Gallo of Naples, and brought to light ruins of walls, pavements, sheets of marble etc. (Feola Chap. XIV).

Il Pozzo.

A vast vaulted building of Roman work. It is composed of three vaults communicating with each other, each 16 feet in length, and 14 in breadth, the whole space occupied being 7171 feet. As in the Villa Jovis, the vaulted chambers certainly formed the foundation of a vast Palace. Tessellated pavements and bas-reliefs were found here. (Feola. Chap. XIV).

Monticello.

Feola himself saw here a large room with a pavement of minute " tesserae ", and walls ornamented inside with polished " intonaco " of bright red, blue, and yellow, and the remains of delicate cornices. (Feola. Chap. XIV).

Veterino.

Feola mentions finding on this spot the remains of a wall 9 feet in length. The masonry was in part covered with " intonaco ", which shows that it was used as a dwelling. For the convenience of these Villas, roads, of which traces can be seen in numerous places, were probably made by the Emperor Augustus.

Vaults, formed the foundations of the above-mentioned road, which not only led to the Villas of Pozzo, Veterino, and Monticello, but also to the Port on the north called Gradolo, so that we may without presumption conclude, that all these Villas had road connection with this Port. (Feola. Chap. XIV).

Damecuta.

This Villa situated on a four sided eminence, like a " loggia " overhanging the sea, was according to Mangoni " the fifth Imperial Palace, which I think was the largest, built by Augustus in Anacapri ". (Mangoni. Ric. Top. p. 255). Antiquarians have supposed that the name Damecuta is a corruption of " Domus Augusti " : this definition does not commend itself to us, especially as it is not claimed that any of the other sites occupied by Roman Villas, Imperial or otherwise, still preserve their original, or a corruption of their original names.

Feola suggests that the doctor of Augustus, Antonius Musa, recommended the Emperor to make use of this Villa in preference to the Villa Jovis, thinking that the purity of the air would be beneficial to the disease, relaxation of the bowels, from which he suffered. (Feola. Chap. XIV). Feola informs us that the length of the space covered by the Palace was 50 feet, breadth 31 feet, forming an anterior area of 15750 feet. On the north side still stands a Tower, (lately renovated by Dr. Axel Munthe), which was used " as a watch-tower to give warning to the inhabitants of the approach of the Saracens ". Tessellated pavements were found near this Tower to the west: higher up on the western side, the remains of antique reticulated ma-

sonry, formed partly of the rock of the island, and partly of tufa of Posilippo, have been brought to light ".

On the south side Mangoni mentions two vaulted receptacles for water, length 145 feet, breadth $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet. He further mentions the discovery of marble columns, and a capitol of the Doric order. (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 259).

In his Note to Feola, (Chap XIV,) Dr. Cerio informs us that in more recent times remains of pavements of coloured marbles, capitols of the Doric order, and other columns of " bigio antico " and " cipollino ", but reduced to fragments, have been brought to light. Amidst the ruins of a large semicircular chamber was found a beautiful pavement, almost intact, composed of large bricks of " palombino ", a stone which in its extreme whiteness resembles ivory.

A very fine fragment of a marble vase, adorned with garlands and clusters of flowers was found at Damecuta, and is now in the possession of Mr. C. C. Coleman at Villa Narcissus, as well as a terra-cotta female head.

It was on the level plateau of Damecuta that the English under Major Hamill were camped, and from thence marched to meet the French under General Lamarque. (Mang. Ric. Top. Chap. 29).

CHAPTER XX

Campo Pisco.

In or about the year 1683 Bishop Gallo bought and rebuilt the house at Fortino, and from this fact the present name Campo Pisco , which is a corruption of “ campus episcopus ”, is derived. (Had. Let. XX).

In this place Hadrava discovered various concrete pavements, an infinite quantity of “ giallo antico ”, and in another excavation a great quantity of fragments of marble of different colours , and especially lapislazuli. He also found a bust of Vesta. (Romanelli p. 108. Mang. Ric. Top. p. 212). From the absence of any choice works of art Mangoni supposes that the buildings existing here were part of some Public building: others have conjectured that they were the remains of a Temple of Vesta.

In 1809 the French erected a fort on this site.

CHAPTER XXI

Porto Tragara.

The Port of Tragara was evidently used by the Romans as a harbour, and would afford shelter to their galleys from the westerly and northern gales. On one of the rocky points at the beginning of the inner part of the landing place, can be observed below the level of the sea, three distinct pieces of masonry at equal distances apart, which might have been the foundations of elevated piles, to support arches, which formed the " banchetta ", or Mole. These are distinguished by the name of " Precioelle ". (Feola, Chap. VIII).

The landing place is at the north west corner of the port; a flight of steps can be seen at a depth of 2 feet below the water, and a portion of a stairway, which led to the water's edge, still exists. On the western side of the port are massive walls, some of which are of Roman construction, and some of later date; the latter were most likely built to prevent the landing of the Saracens, in the middle ages. (Mackowen, p. 176).

Several large leaden pipes were found not many years ago , embedded in the soil near Porto Tragara , which probably were used to conduct the water needed for the use of the Roman galleys, from large reservoirs, which were situated on the hills of Castiglione and San Michele. Dr. I. Cerio tells us, that a few years ago fragments of iron rings could be seen attached to the rocks, and evidently used for mooring ships.

CHAPTER XXII

Truglio and Sopra-Fontana.

Near the Aqueduct in the middle of the Piazzetta of the Grande Marina , excavations were made in the time of Francis I (1827) , and the ruins of several apartments , the vaults of which were totally crushed , the walls demolished , and the pavements almost obliterated, were brought to light. Two pavements of yellow and green marble were found on this spot, and removed to Naples. Mangoni informs us that a column of " giallo antico " , measuring nine feet in height , and fifteen inches in diameter, and five headless statues, (of which one of colossal size was recognised as a statue of Tiberius), as well as a smaller statue of a young warrior in short tunic , were discovered here. (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 190).

Sopra-Fontana.

At the Fontana close by , four cisterns were discovered : two of these measured 183 feet in length, and 32 feet in breadth. These cisterns were probably built to supply water to the adjoining Villas , and are to this day full of spring, or at any rate flowing water,

and there is no record of their having ever run dry. (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 196). In one of these cisterns was found a porphyry head of a divinity, or Egyptian priest. (Secondo, Relazione, p. 17).

Schoener remarks; " There are three very interesting cisterns in a row, the first of which has the remarkable length of 59 metres (200 Roman feet), with a width of ten metres, and a height of five metres. They show evidence of great antiquity and extreme solidity. The vaulting is of great strength. The walls are two metres in thickness. At the entrance on the north side, one can see that they consist of brick-shaped tufa and " opus reticulatum "..... Three quadrangular holes in the vaulting may have been for the purpose of admitting light..... There was a tradition that this mighty cistern was never without water, and that it could not be ascertained whence the water came. In the summer 1880-1881 in consequence of prolonged draught, this cistern became empty: it was then seen that the water came from the adjoining smaller cistern by a communicating opening, and that the latter contained the spring. Of these cisterns which are closely connected, and quite of the same construction, there are three, and not four as Mangoni indicates. Only the westernmost cistern has the above described dimensions, the other two being much smaller..... It is evident that these cisterns were the public reservoirs of the ancient town, they were nearer than any other source of water, and it is certainly not without reason, that three paths meet here ". (Schoener, Chap. V).

An immense quantity of very fine chalk was found at the botton of the cistern, which contained metallic

particles, which when dry became of a peculiar blue colour. This fact has given rise to the idea that in the days of Tiberius, the celebrated " Murrini " vases were manufactured on the island. (Romanelli p. 105). For further information in regard to these peculiar and precious vases. (Part. II, Chap. IX PALAZZO A MARE).

CHAPTER XXIII

Villa at Aiano.

The district now called Aiano, lies towards the south west end of the Valley of the Marina, and about half way up the hill. Hadrava places here an Imperial Villa, and Mangoni follows suit. The latter remarks; " In times not very remote, many subterranean chambers were discovered, in which I recognised pavements of ancient coloured marbles and several tablets of white marble, as well as the remains of an acqueduct containing several hundred pounds of lead piping ". (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 208, and Romanelli. p. 109). " In the environs were found in times long ago, eight magnificent antique columns, of which four were of " giallo antico ", and the remainder of Egyptian " cipollino ", each of twenty feet in height and in one piece: for many years they served to adorn the ancient Cathedral of San Costanzo, which is not far from the place of their discovery. Those of " giallo antico " were afterwards removed to the Royal Chapel of Caserta, where they may be seen today (Romanelli, p. 109); while the remaining four of Egyptian " cipollino " can still be seen by the traveller in the Church of San Costanzo ". (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 208).

* On entering the piece of property occupying the northern part of the hill, immediately to the left we find a rough wall 45 paces long, well preserved, and partly covered with "opus reticulatum", and beyond following the same direction, another wall slightly in advance. The latter, against which the peasant's dwelling rests, is about thirty paces long, and rises in several gradations to the height of about five metres, showing traces of brick mosaic pavement. Above these walls is a terrace, planted with vines; behind which rises another antique wall of "opus incertum" and brick work. The six layers of brickwork show conclusively, that this wall belongs to the Tiberian buildings. The breadth of the terrace (about 12 metres), is the same as that of the Villa of San Michele, the Camerelle, and Punta Tragara. The walls are parallel, and run from W. N. W. to E. S. E. ". (Schoener, Chap. X).

CHAPTER XXIV

Blue Grotto.

At the present time the Blue Grotto is the principal attraction of the island, and yearly brings from 30,000 to 35,000 visitors to Capri. Each visitor pays a tax of Lire 1,25, which furnishes a considerable source of revenue, and is divided between the Municipalty, the poor of Capri, and the mariners.

The strangely evasive blue light which suffuses the Grotto has been so often described by pens more full of poetry and Teutonic idealism than mine, that I will leave the visitor to satisfy the imaginative and pictorial portion of his soul from such pen-paintings. I will merely confine myself to facts.

The grotto as we see it today, is elliptical in shape with extensions north, east, and south west. It is 163 feet long by 83 feet wide, its greatest height is 50 feet, with a depth of 60 to 70 feet, which varies according to the direction, and force of the wind. The height of the present entrance is 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet, 3 feet being under water.

Mackowen says; " Since the Blue Grotto has been hollowed out to its present size, it has been about sixteen feet lower in the water than at present, and

must have remained at that level some hundreds of years, because a line of holes, which in some cases have a depth of several feet, can be seen running round the inside of the Grotto, about sixteen feet above the present level. When the Grotto was at this lower level, the sea water could run into the passage at the back, and thus destroyed the continuation of the pavement, which now exists under the artificial arch, with the pavement in the passage; this latter pavement has been cracked, and in great part destroyed by the rising and subsidence of the island". (Mackowen. p. 156),

Weichardt remarks; " Clear traces of the mediæval sea-level, 5 metres above that of the present day, are recognisable on the interior walls of the Grotto. The entrance to the Grotto was consequently entirely covered, and the Grotto thus unknown in post-Roman days, namely until the island once more rose to its present level ". (Weichardt. " Capri. " p. 43).

" Nearly 15 feet above the water level within the Grotto, there is a row of holes upon the sides evidently produced by the action of the water. The island therefore in past antique times must have been 15 feet deeper in the water than today ". (Schoener. Chap. X).

Again referring to Mackowen who has made a special study of the Blue Grotto: " The present entrance to the Grotto is through an arch whose height above the present water level is three feet, and a half, the depth of the water under the arch is three feet, which gives an arched entrance, whose height below and above the water-level, amounts to six and a half feet, with a width of three and a half. On close inspection it will be seen that the rock which forms the floor of this

arched entrance was level, and that this level floor projects several feet into the sea in front of the arch in the shape of a commodious platform. The vertical sides of this entrance meet the level platform at right angles, and it is seen at a glance that this entrance is artificial, and has not been formed by the action of the sea water, for under those circumstances the floor would have a round shape. A few feet to the right of the present entrance, and at a depth of seven and a half or eight feet below the water level, can be seen the top of a large arch, which widens out until it reaches a profundity of about thirty feet, then the two sides approach each other gradually until they meet, forming thus a large round hole about fifty feet high by forty in width, through which the water of the Bay of Naples flows freely in and out of the Grotto ". (Mackowen. Capri p. 158). In order to ventilate the Grotto " an opening six and a half feet high was cut through the rock, four feet and a half above the top of the old entrance, and this opening furnishes today the only means of access to the interior of the Grotto ". (Mackowen. p. 159).

" That the Grotto was used in ancient times, is assumed, not only from the artificially made and enlarged opening with its level base projecting like a platform, and the remains of steps hewn in the living rock, leading to and from the outside—but also from other artificial constructions in the rear of the Grotto ". (Schoener. Chap. X).

From the quotations made above, it will be seen that we have every right to assume with considerable security that the Grotto was known to the Romans,

but not as the "Blue Grotto", and that entry was made by an opening now submerged, and ventilation afforded by the present entrance. We may further be sure that by the gradual subsidence of the island all knowledge of the Grotto was lost for many hundreds of years, how many exactly we have no means of estimating.

Weichardt remarks; "A set of steps cut into the outer rock, of which a number still remain, and have recently been repaired, then led from the entrance up to the steep wall of rock and onwards to the heights, whereon stood a not unimportant structure—also supposed to have been an imperial villa. The steps, which began on a platform lying in the sea in front of the antique grotto-arch, show that the grotto was used in the time of antiquity". (Weichardt. "Capri" p. 42).

"About eight years ago a flight of steps, which leads down to the water in front of this entrance, was cut out of the solid rock; this was only a renovation of an old flight of steps, which was built in ancient times, but had been much injured, and almost totally destroyed by the action of the waves. Remains of the old Roman masonry may still be seen under a modern wall, which has been pierced to make room for the new flight of steps". (Mackowen. Capri. p. 160).

At the back of the Grotto is a passage which penetrates a considerable distance into the mountain side. Antiquarians have at all times been much exercised in their minds as to whether this passage is a natural fissure, caused by the action of rainwater, or whether it is the work of man, and was a secret corridor leading to some Villa or Palace above the Grotto, (some suggest Damecuta). Still another theory has

been suggested more lately, that these passages may have been nothing more romantic than the sewer of a Villa above.

I have thought it fair to the reader to allow him to compare the respective accounts of Mangoni, of Mackowen, (who is undoubtedly a high authority), and of Dr. Schoener the latest explorer, who tells us that he penetrated these corridors on numerous occasions. Mangoni says; " On the right hand of the Blue Grotto, is another grotto about two feet above the level of the water, which enters the limestone rock in a southerly direction. The breadth of the entrance is about 26 feet, but it is divided midway by a natural pillar of rock, so that it has two distinct entrances. At the beginning, it is sufficiently high, but as you advance it gets lower, and the breadth also diminishes. At the same time one may suppose, that anciently when the floor was not so covered with soil, it was accessible. This subterranean passage advances in a straight line for about 200 feet, and one can walk on a sort of cement made of limestone mixed with pebbles..... We have observed no ancient masonry in this passage, except a great quantity of rocks for masonry, and a stone of a rectangular shape which is seen to cover the upper part of the vault at its end, which might have been placed there to conceal the Grotto ". (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 34-35).

Mackowen remarks; " In the back part is an arch, cut out of the solid rock, and under this arch is a pavement made of unhewn stones and masonry: below this pavement and in front is a ledge hewn out of the rock, and on the right of this ledge are the remains

of steps, which probably led down to the sea level, when the island stood higher out of the water than it does now. This arch and ledge are artificial, because the marks of the chisel can be plainly seen. The pavement extends a short distance back of the arch into a passage, and then ceases, but the passage becoming narrower as it proceeds, extends three or four hundred feet into the mountain. There the passage ends abruptly, and quantities of clay exist on the floor and sides, to show that it was formed naturally by the action of acidified rainwater, dripping through a fissure. Many writers have adopted the theory that this passage was a subterranean entrance to the grotto from some place above, but a close examination of the sides shows no marks of the chisel, nor any other sign to prove that it is artificial". (Mackowen. p. 155).

Those who believe that the Grotto was the theatre of the voluptuous Tiberian bathing scenes, have readily accepted the supposition that it was in secret communication with one of the imperial palaces, and have without much thought, asserted that a corridor in the background of the grotto was the communication by which the libidinous tyrant was wont to betake himself with his retinue of women and boys to the magic bathing place.

Dr Schoener, who frequently explored the interior corridor of the grotto, gives the following results of his explorations, which I have transcribed at length, as it is the best and fullest description of this mysterious passage, the use of which has been the subject of so much discussion. " He who inspects the opening and first few steps of the corridor may consider himself

justified in this presumption. The opening which is about 150 feet from the entrance in the south western part of the grotto has a width of nearly 30 feet. It is divided by a pillar of rock into two entrances differing in height and width. The one in advance, which faces the entrance of the grotto, shows distinct traces of the chisel on its walls and vault. Its floor-way three feet in thickness, is constructed of quarry stone, and at its foot projects a small platform flush with the present water level, from which steps went down to the water level, which was originally 18 feet deeper. In the interior of the subterranean corridor which begins here, and which leads to a third, but much narrower opening, in the lower part of the cavern, we find clear traces of workmanship. The footway consists of a very hard mass of limestone and hewn rock: the ceiling was covered with masonry, which has since for the most part fallen down. Spacious in its beginning, the cavernous opening rapidly diminishes in height and width, and at about 150 feet from the entrance there are no visible traces of artificial work. The direction of the corridor is nearly due south west: its height and width varying considerably. Nowhere can more than two persons walk abreast: for the most part there is only room for one person, and often it is necessary to stoop very low, and push oneself cautiously along between the projecting rocks..... I have done so repeatedly, and finally traversed as far as 600 feet "..... " As I was unable to find any native who had penetrated more than 300 feet, and who could boast of any acquaintance with the corridor I undertook to make the expedition alone. After I had advanced 300 paces, and passed

several places where it was possible to make progress only by stooping and edging along sidewise, I saw the way obstructed by loose fragments of rock. Whether the way continued beyond this, and if so how far, I cannot say. From the condition of the twisting passage this much can be stated with certainty, that the corridor is nothing more or less than a natural cavity, (many such existing in the limestone formation of the island), and it is absolutely certain, that it could never have been used as a means of communication between the Grotto and an imperial palace. Even if the traces of workmanship on the walls could be obliterated by the dripping from the limestone, which covered them with a thick slimy crust, it is inconceivable that the builders should have neglected to remove the numerous inequalities of the footway, as well as the jagged projections from the walls and from the ceiling which constantly menace the pedestrian". (Schoener, Chap. X).

Excavations made immediately above the grotto by Colonel Mackowen between the years 1875 and 1876 discovered the remains of a Roman Villa; he found, " fragments of statues, many bits of coloured marble, columns and other things which proved the richness with which this palace was adorned". (Mackowen, p. 162).

Dr. Schoener says; " The parts of the Villa were built on different levels in consequence of the sloping of the hill seaward. Only a small portion of it has been excavated. Above small rooms of " opus reticulatum " are to be seen, cisterns of " opus incertum " and a few bath-rooms: further below stuccoed and painted rooms with marble thresholds, an

irregular building with two round niches, looking towards Portici and Ischia—and behind a water conduit, and other rooms difficult to classify". (Schoener, Chap. X).

The vexed question as to who really rediscovered the Blue Grotto, after its disappearance in post-Roman times, has been complicated and obscured by numerous references by various writers to what is now known to be the Grotta Oscura, but which many writers, generally considered careful and reliable, have confounded with the then unknown Blue Grotto. Mr Norman Douglass remarks; ("Blue Grotto and its Literature", p. 7). "Soon after 1826, attention was drawn to accounts by older writers of a Grotta Oscura in Capri. The merit, such as it is, of starting this confusion belongs, I think, to Waiblinger. Chevalley de Rivaz and Stanislaus d'Almeida also refer to older authors. The latter writes, ("Naples: ses Monuments et ses Curiosites"; 1847); "Our friend, Mr. Kopisch, rediscovered the Blue Grotto, mentioned by the historian Capaccio".

The real facts appear to be as follows: prior to 1832, that is, six years after the German painter August Kopisch rediscovered the Grotto, there is no clear and unmistakeable reference to it by early writers. The reference of Capaccio in his "*Historiae Napolitanae*" published in 1605; "Inter speluncas, una reliqua est, quam ingressu valde obscuram cernes, in lucidum deinde sinum desinit in quem superne aquarum stillicidiis, mare nimis delectabile redditur", refers probably to the Grotta Oscura, and not to the Blue Grotto, because no mention is made of the blue light, or of the low entrance, the two principal characteristics of the Grotto.

Parrino, (" Nuova Guida dei Forestieri "), has the following passage; " Delle spelonche una ve ne resta, che ha l'entrata molto oscura, ma in lucido seno per la riflessione dell'acqua termina molto dilettevole ": it is however certain that Parrino never himself visited Capri, and merely copied Capaccio's account.

Neither Secondo, Romanelli, Breislak, Rezzonico, or Hadrava make the slightest reference to the Blue Grotto. In an interesting pamphlet (dated March 23 1828) the archeologist Feola describes the steps that lead to the sea close to the mouth of the Blue Grotto, but says not a word of the Grotto itself. The manuscript of Mangoni's " Ricerche Topografiche " dated Capri, Feb. 1831, contains not a single reference to the Blue Grotto.

From negative we pass to positive evidence, as to the real discoverer of the Grotto. The Grotto was certainly known to Angelo Ferraro, a Capri fisherman, and possibly to many another Capri mariner. The Neapolitan " Poliorama Pittresco ", in an article entitled, " Angelo Ferraro, detto il Riccio, ", gives a portrait of him, and fixes the date of his discovery of the Blue Grotto for the 16th May 1822. This opinion is further confirmed by the following extract from the Archives of Naples.

CONSIGLIO GENRRALE DEGLI OSPIZII DELLA PROVINCIA
DI NAPOLI.

26 Marzo, 1845.

Eccellenza,

Il marinaio Angelo Ferraro, scopritore della Grotta Azzurra in Capri, che tra le momentanee sovvenzioni ottenute da S. M. il Ministro della Polizia per aver contribuito alla celebrità della sua patria, fu abilitato al triplo turno tra gli altri marinai che conducono i curiosi di naturali fenomeni a visitare quel sito, privo ormai di vigoria per la sua età avanzata, ed inabile a trar profitto di tale abilitazione, nonchè ridotto alla estrema indigenza, ha mosso il sotto-intendente di Castellammare a promuovere a di lui favore un mensile sussidio di carlini trenta, da gravitare per carlini diciotto al mese sulla beneficenza di Capri e per gli altri carlini dodici sulla beneficenza di Anacapri.

A me sembra che meriti il nominato individuo la considerazione proposta, pel riflesso non solo che gli ottenne fin dapprima dei riguardi, e per un principio di pietà a causa della sua indigenza, ma pel motivo ancora dell'utile che la scoperta fatta dal suo coraggio ha procurata alla infelice classe dei marinai, e specialmente ai suoi compatriotti, e perchè attesa la sua età

inoltrata non darà luogo per lungo tempo a questa gravezza per le due amministrazioni dinanzi dette.

Mi onoro quindi di rassegnare la proposizione alla E. V. per le superiori sue determinazioni.

PER L' INTENDENTE PRESIDENTE,

Il Consigliere,

(signed) **Canonico Carbonelli**

As the first intelligent foreigner, who since Roman times, entered the Blue Grotto, described its wondrous colour charms, reintroduced it to the great world outside Capri, and conferred upon it its present name of Blue Grotto, the honour in our opinion belongs to August Kopisch. On August 17 1826 Kopisch, a painter of Breslau, entered the Grotto, accompanied by his friend Ernst Fries, also a painter and a pupil of of Rottmann, and Giuseppe Pagano. The curious may consult the autograph record of Kopisch's exploit preserved in Pagano's Hotel.

In 1838 Kopisch published his "Entdeckung der Blauen Grotte", which has since been republished. An interesting account of the legends connected with the Blue Grotto, and the adventures of Kopisch and his companions during their now famous exploration, which is an abbreviation and adaptation of Kopisch's account, may be found in Part. III, Chap. VI.

For the following authorities, who refer to the Blue Grotto, I am largely indebted to Mr. Norman Douglass', "Blue Grotto and its Literature". Among the earliest accounts of the Blue Grotto may be mentioned that contained in a letter of the composer Mendelssohn

to his sisters, dated May 28, 1831: the account of Marianna Starke, " Voyages historiques et littéraires en Italie ". A pamphlet of Marchese di San Tommaso " La Grotta Azzurra ", 1840. " Poliorama Pittoresco ", " Angelo Ferraro detto il Riccio ", 1841. Chevalley di Rivaz " Voyages de Naples et a Paestum " 1846. Quattromani, and Pietro Martorana " Notizie biografiche e bibliografiche degli scrittori del dialetto Napolitano ", 1874.

Among so many descriptions of the Blue Grotto poetic, fantastic, tedious and copious, it is not easy to make choice. I have however decided to quote at length two passages, the first from the brilliant pen of A. Dumas père, and the second from that king of phantasy Hans Andersen.

" J'avais devant moi, autour moi, et derrière moi, des merveilles dont aucune description ne pourrait donner l'idée, et devant lesquelles le pinceau lui-même, ce grand traducteur des souvenirs humains demeure impuissant. Qu'on se figure une immense caverne toute d'azure, comme si Dieu s'était amuse à faire une tente avec quelque reste du firmament, une eau si limpide, si transparent, si pure, qu'on semblait flotter sur de l'air épais: au plafond, des stalactites pendantes comme des pyramides renversées: au fond un sable d'or mêlé de végétation sous-marines: le long des parois qui se baignent dans l'eau, des pousses de corale aux branches capricieuses et éclatantes: du côté de la mer un point, une étoile par lequel entre le demi-jour qui éclaire ce palais de fée: enfin à l'extrémité opposée, une espèce d'estrade menagée comme le trône de la somptueuse déesse qui a choisi pour sa

salle de bains l'une des merveilles du monde ". (" Le Speronare ").

The following dainty fairy-like suggestion is from " The Improvisatore " of Hans Andersen. " The rower took in his oars: we were obliged to lie down in the boat, which he guided with his hands, and we glided into a dark recess beneath the stupendous rocks which are washed by the great Mediterranean. Instantly we were in a vast vault, where all gleamed like ether. The water below was like a blue-burning fire, lighting up the whole. All around was closed in: but, beneath the water, the little opening by which we entered prolonged itself almost to the bottom of the sea, forty fathoms in depth, and expanded itself to about the same width. Thus the powerful sunshine outside threw a reflected light upon the floor of the grotto, and streaming in now like fire through the blue water, seemed to change it into burning spirit. Everything gave back the reflection: the rocky arch—all seemed as if formed of consolidated air, and to dissolve away into it. The drops of spray tossed up by the movement of the oars, fell red, like fresh rose leaves. It was a fairy world ".

CHAPTER XXV

Cave of Mithras.

The cave of Mithras is to be found in the plain of Matromania, (on the south side of the island) which is bounded on the west by the hill of Tuoro Grande (now commonly called the Telegrafo) and on the east by the Tuoro Piccola. The entrance to the cave can best be seen by looking up from the Cala di Matromania, but the approach must be made by means of a long flight of very ancient steps, which lead down to it from the path which goes to the Arco Naturale. There is no spot on the island which appeals so strongly to the imagination of the spectator: the peculiar remoteness and loneliness of the spot, its freedom from intrusion, the magnificent view to be obtained from the Grotto, embracing the Cape of Minerva, the outlines of the heights of the Surrentine peninsula, the islands of the Sirens, and still farther off on the blue hazy horizon the temple of Pesto: the appearance of extraordinary antiquity of the few surviving remnants of masonry, while all around a luxuriant vegetation grows out of the damp and fragrant humus, and a refreshing coolness welcomes us. A peculiar sense of enchantment has its home here, an almost fearsome sense of solitude

and silence, which is only broken in upon by the monotonous dripping of the water in the cavern", (Weichardt, p. 85).

The imagination is fired, and teeming thoughts set loose; thoughts full of infinite suggestion, thoughts and phantasies all the more fascinating because of their supreme vagueness and uncertainty. Here, at least, no rigid, exacting scientist can either crush or condemn our flights of fancy; we are free as the birds to picture what we will, and with boundless fields of thought around us, there is no logical limit to our irresponsible conclusions.

In regard to the meaning and derivation of the word *Matromania*, Sigr. Secondo was of opinion, that, it is derived from *Ara Matris Magnae*, or *Matris Manium*; and that here once stood a temple built by Augustus, in honour of Cybele; he bases this opinion upon the fact that, from time to time, many sepulchres have been discovered in the vicinity of the Grotto, and also, from the inscription carved on the tomb of the Greek *Upatos*, which will be referred to at greater length at the end of this chapter. Conte Rezzonico derives the name from *Magnum Mithrae antrum*, and decides in favour of the cave having been dedicated to the worship of Mithras. Feola and all later writers, agree in supposing that, in this remote Grotto were practised the secret mysterious rites of Mithras.

The celebrated Mithraic bas-relief, which is now in the National Museum of Naples, was found by Dr. Giraldi about 1775. A narrative of his excavations and discoveries, and especially an account of the Flora of Capri, was written by Dr. Giraldi, and is quoted by

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Mangoni : this interesting MS. has unfortunately disappeared. The dimensions of the bas-relief are 3 feet in length by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, and represents the god Mithras, adorned with a Phrygian cap, in the act of sacrificing a bull; the central figure is surrounded by the usual Mithraic symbols: two youths to right and left respectively, one raising, and the other lowering a torch, symbolise Life and Death. (Romanelli: p. 39, and note K. p. 91). This extremely interesting Mithraic bas-relief, was given by Dr. Gennaro Arcucci to Ferdinand I. of Naples, and is now preserved in the Naples Museum.

Hadrava, considers that, this temple was dedicated to Cybele, and observes (Letter XXIX) that, an altar dedicated to that goddess was discovered in the cave of Mithras, and states that it is now in the British Museum. Mangoni quoting Hadrava, repeats the same story. (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 111). As a matter of fact, no such altar exists in the British Museum, and I can learn nothing further of its history, or destination.

Dr. I. Cerio in his Note to Feola, (Chap. IX,) says that, he saw some years ago, a beautiful terra-cotta statuette, (about eight inches in height), of a figure wearing a Phrygian cap, which was found in the grotto.

Feola thus describes the temple; " The temple at present consists of a wide and dark cave carved out of the hard rock by nature. Its shape is an exact oval, provided with two openings, one towards the south, which admits the chief light, and the other smaller one to the east, which serves as an entrance. The length from the back to the southern opening is about ninety feet, and the breadth is sixty feet. The

height of the vault is very irregular. There are still remains in the Grotto of ancient masonry of the Roman style, similar to that found in the Imperial Villas, not only in form, but in the material used. It has in the interior some walls constructed of volcanic rock from Herculaneum, and the outer wall is faced with reticulated tufa of Posilipo *. (Feola, Chap. IX).

* The perfect "opus reticulatum" is an evidence that, the construction is of the early imperial times. As the worship of the Persian Sun God was introduced into Italy before the time of Pompey, it may be possible that, this Grotto was intended to serve as a sanctuary of Mithras from the first: on the other hand, it may be that it originally belonged to the Augustan and Tiberian constructions and was used at a later period for those religious rites. In the former case it would be one of the earliest Mithras sanctuaries in Italy *. (Schoener, Chap. VI).

* The material for the "opus reticulatum" consists of large wedge-shaped pieces of limestone, gray tufa from Sorrento and yellow tufa from Posilipo. In the apse, which is probably of a later date, we see brick shaped pieces of tufa, and burnt bricks have been used for the entrance pillars, which also seem to belong to a later period *. (Schoener, Chap. VI). The sides of the Grotto are constructed of solid masonry, and one can observe where the arches sprang, which supported the vault of the roof. "The architectonic form produced by a barrel roof, conjointly with the apse, leads to the inference that, a sort of facade stood at the front of the Grotto ". ("Capri". Weichardt, p. 86).

Dr. I. Cerio in his Note to Feola (Chap. IX,) says ;
“ From other investigations made in the Grotto, one can establish the fact that the vault and walls were adorned with glass mosaic of various colours, while the semicircle at the back of the Grotto, and perhaps the plinth, was covered with encrustations of carbonate of lime ”.

Mackowen says; “ a semicircular wall runs round the cave, above this and a few feet back of it, runs another wall parallel to the first: in the middle, a flight of steps leads from the floor to the tops of these semicircular walls, and then leads up to what was probably, the “ holy of holies ”, of the temple ”. (Mackowen, p. 180).

Dr. James Roane, of Washington D. C., has most kindly placed at my disposal his notes, made after a personal examination of the Grotto, his object being to prove the inclination of the sun's rays within the Cave of Mithras at the equinox. “ In descriptions and comments of the Grotto of Mithras, various writers have stated that, in the back of the Grotto, above the two raised platforms, and considerably to the right of their centre, there is to be observed a depression in the rear wall, which in former times was probably a niche for the statue of Mithras. The awkward position of this niche with reference to the symmetry of the interior, they explain by saying that, it was so constructed that it might receive the first rays of the rising sun at equinoctial periods — the very pretty idea being that, as Mithras was the Sun-God, and as peculiar significance was attached to equinoctial periods, the statue of the god was so placed in the cavern, that the first rays of

rising sun at each of these periods, would fall full upon it. An investigation of this statement made on Sept. 21st. 1903 proved conclusively its falsity. The rays of the rising sun falling very much nearer the entrance of the Grotto, than on the depression above mentioned. And further, the highest point reached by the sun's rays was considerably lower than the very lowest portion of the niche. It must be admitted however that, in former times when the island stood some 15 or 20 feet higher out of the water than at the present day, the altitude then reached by the sun's rays into the Grotto, was considerably greater than at present; but the vertical line, where they first appeared, was the same then, as it is now *.

Weichardt, though ready to admit that it is highly probable that a temple of Mithras existed here, thinks it improbable that during the days of the first Roman Emperors, it was used for this purpose. He inclines to think that, the Grotto was rather used as a theatre; "The first impression produced by the interior of the cavern, after we have overcome the gruesome feeling due to the solitude of the place; is that the "genius loci" is not the Persian sun-god, but rather a lustful faun, for the semicircular rows of seats are more in harmony with the interior of a small theatre, than with that of a temple. To use a somewhat unsophisticated simile, we probably have here before us a sort of Roman speciality theatre, the programme of which was mostly confined to erotic representations". ("Capri". Weichardt, p. 88). "The position of our cavern thus facing full east, the discovery of a Mithras-relievo, of remains of columns and marble slabs, of an altar of

white marble (as mentioned by Hadrava), renders the assumption that a temple to Mithras existed here highly credible; but it is very improbable that, in the days of the first Roman emperors here—on their private property—such a temple could have existed; for, like the Isis cult, that of Mithras was then interdicted, and only silently tolerated in the provincial towns. In Rome it was totally forbidden, and no one would have ventured to carry on the secret worship of Mithras, on the little island, so to say, right under the eyes of the Emperor. (Weichardt, p. 87).

To sum up then our conclusions, from the data from which we have quoted, we may assume, from the evidence of the masonry in the Grotto that, it was used for some purpose during the period of the early Roman Emperors: what purpose is however, shrouded in obscurity and uncertainty. We may further assume with some probability that at a later period, the Grotto was adapted to the service of Mithras. The Mithras cult was specially cultivated and held in reverence by sailors, and the people of the Orient, the home of its origin, and we well know that the greater part of the immense grain traffic of the Roman Empire, for the supply of the city of Rome, passed by the island of Capri on its way to Pozzuoli. We are further aware that, the grain trade was largely in the hands of Egyptian merchants, and that a considerable colony of these merchants had established themselves at Pozzuoli. How natural and convenient a spot then, would this be for a temple of Mithras for the outgoing sailor to offer prayers for a safe and prosperous voyage; and for the

returning mariner to render thanks for a safe deliverance from the dangers through which he had passed.

On or near the Grotto, was found a marble slab having a metrical Greek epitaph, which was translated into Latin by the learned Matteo Egizio, who had become possessed of it. He presented it to the Library of the Fathers of the Oratory of St. Philip at Naples: here it was seen by Signor Martorelli, who corrected the translation, and in his "Theca" greatly praised the epitaph for the elegance of its style. (Mang., Ric. Top. p. 111).

I will here add the graceful translation made by Allan Walters;

" Dread powers, in murky Stygian shores who roam
Thrice wretched, me receive into your home:
Me snatched ere life's allotted race is sped,
By death resistless, swift, unmerited.
The hand that me with ample honours crowned
Hath dealt to sire and son this hopeless wound.
Ere thrice five years their finished course have run,
I, hapless child of sorrow, leave the sun.
My name is Hypatus — dear brother mine,
And weeping sire, I bid ye not repine ".

CHAPTER XXVI

Grotta Arsenale.

This Grotto which is to be found on the south side of the Island and almost immediately beneath the Grotto Castiglione, can best be reached by boat from the Piccola Marina. The Grotto itself consists " of a deep and regular incision in the hard limestone rock, the vault above resembling a perfect tortoise in shape ". (Feola. Chap. IV). The Grotto is approached by an inclined plane sloping gradually towards the entrance: this is evidently artificial, the mortar being composed of pebbles and scraps of brick mixed with lime. This inclined plane was constructed to facilitate the ascent and descent of boats. According to Feola the length of the Grotto is 133 feet, breadth 104, and height nearly 50 feet. (Feola. Chap. IV). The Grotto was according to Feola and Mangoni used by the Romans as a place for preserving naval stores, making oars and sails, and for repairing their boats, and launching them. The Roman floor is covered with sand and stonés, which have been dashed up by the sea, or fallen from the top of the Grotto to a depth of 3 or 4 feet: however the original floor can be seen,

and is composed of concrete made by mixing volcanic cinders and broken pieces of pottery with lime.

On the right of the Grotto is to be observed some masonry formed of the volcanic red tufa of Herculaneum, this cavity was probably used as an inner store, or special workshop. On the left and at the back are to be seen two chambers in which were discovered pavements. Dr. I. Cerio in his Note to Feola, (Chap IV,) says ; " In 1879 certain excavations were made in this Grotto and at about one metre in depth, under the rubble and masses of rock, which having fallen from the vault, had accumulated for centuries, were found the remains of a rich pavement, made of " rosso antico " and arranged in the form of a square, inside which were enclosed alternately smaller squares of gray and black marble. On the right of this cave was found, still in position, a broad threshold of white marble. Mosaics of variously coloured glass were also discovered in such quantity as to lead to the opinion that, the sides of the Grotto and vault were originally entirely covered with them. At the bottom of the Grotto was found a large and most precious fragment of a dish or plate in opalescent blue glass, with fish drawn in relief with white cement, and is now preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York. The workmanship of this plate is similar to that of the celebrated Portland vase, and to that found in a tomb at Pompeii in 1837, and now preserved in the Museum of Naples. In the times of Augustus and Tiberius this place must have been used as a temple, or large bathing-place; the second pavement about a metre above the first or original one,

was of later work, and was probably made when this place was applied to other purposes ”.

Weichardt says ; “ It is still known as the “ Grotta dell'Arsenale ” and was probably used in the days of antiquity as a yard for the repairing of small vessels. The walls thereof seem to have been entirely faced with masonry, on account of the dripping water. At all events, remains of masonry are found on the walls, as also traces of a small chamber, which was possibly used by the attendant watchman. It is very probable that this grotto was used as shipwright's yard , as both to right and left , at a very slight distance therefrom there is found, a landing place, namely behind the Faraglioni on the Tragara Foreland, and on the “ little marina ”. (Weichardt. Capri p. 44).

On the left side are to be observed in the face of the cave, and at a convenient height, six holes, each 20 inches square, at equal distance apart, and covered inside with very hard mortar. These holes correspond with an equal number on the opposite side, and at the same height, though only three now survive, the remainder having been destroyed by a fall of the rock. One may presume that the object of these holes was to receive huge beams, so that the Grotto could be divided into two parts. (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 140), or to support an awning to preserve the naval store from the dripping of water, or falling rock. (Mac-kowen. p. 171).

Immediately to the right of the principal Grotto, a smaller cave of the same character should be observed, inside which one may recognise Roman masonry of Herculaneum tufa, consisting of elevations which may

have served as workbenches, on which could be executed such small repairs as are always necessary in refitting boats. Traces of reticulated tufa of Posilippo are to be seen attached to the rocks just under the surface of the sea, which were undoubtedly part of the inclined plane for launching boats, long since destroyed, (Feola. Chap. IV).

About the year 1777 an iron tool used for ship-building, or as others think, a portion of a Roman galley, was discovered, and sold to Dr. Giraldi. (Mackowen p. 172).

CHAPTER XXVII

Grotto Castiglione.

On the south side of the Castiglione there is an immense Grotto, which is certainly the largest on the island and is well worth a visit. The path though steep, and in dry weather slippery, is not dangerous or inaccessible to the ordinary pedestrian, the rugged broken steps being protected at the most threatening points by a wire rope. Like similar caves on the island, the Grotto is wide open towards the sea, and can only be seen from that direction. A fairly plausible legend exists, for which however I can quote no authority, that during the Saracenic raids in the middle ages, the panic-stricken islanders sought, and found refuge here, and certainly, provided they had a sufficient supply of food and water, no more suitable spot could have been chosen.

In the following graphic passage, Hadrava relates how the engineer Santo, the director of his excavations descended from above into the Grotto; "I cannot omit describing the courage of the engineer Santo, who was inspired by a vague tradition related by the monks, that under the Castle was a Grotto, which was very deep and most dangerous to enter. It was said that

a peasant, who happened on one occasion to descend to the Grotto found there a tablet of precious marble of great size. Santo being animated by these and similar reports, resolved to visit the Grotto, in spite of all the protests which the Governor and I made to him, not to risk his life. Accordingly Santo with one islander, who was to act as guide, undertook this perilous expedition. The islanders are accustomed to scramble over the rocks like cats, and often when quail hunting, venture with their nets over the most perilous cliffs, for the sake of a single bird. The guide of the engineer who was sure of gaining the value of a hundred quail, took courage, and showed him the spots where he should put his feet. For the first fifteen feet all went well. About half way up, not finding any support, and seeing beneath them a horrible precipice, they made every effort to clutch to the rock with hand and foot, and to lower themselves by degrees by the bushes, but with imminent danger, because if a bush broke, or a rock fell, both of them would certainly have perished. Seeing death beneath them, they arrived covered with wounds at the foot of the grotto. There they had to rest in order to regain their strength for the dangerous return journey. In the meantime the engineer examined the Grotto, and found nothing to verify the reports of the monks. He made an exact sketch of the Grotto, and took away some small pieces of the stalactites with which it was filled: these stalactites being probably what the first islander supposed was precious marble. Santo was anxious to avoid spending the night there, not knowing what animals might be hidden in the cave, or what

noxious vapours might poison it, and knowing how much time was necessary to return to the top. Besides this the setting sun obscured the grotto and rendered the return journey more perilous. Accordingly he rekindled his daring, and after three hours incredible suffering, scrambling with as much danger as before, they emerged at the top, with their hands and feet covered with blood ". (Hadrava, Let. XXI).

The best modern account of the Grotto is given by Dr. Schoener ; " The height of the Grotto is much greater than its breadth, and spacious enough to give shelter to several hundred people. The roof is covered with numerous stalactites. The floor, sloping down steeply at the entrance, becomes somewhat level towards the rear. Near the east wall a small stone watch-tower with loop-holes, guards the entrance. A good many shapeless, but compact remains of rubble stone substructions are to be seen in the centre of the Grotto, and a few unmistakeable remains of walls, with a coating of " opus reticulatum " in the best style, can be observed in the back part of the Grotto. There is also at the west end near the entrance a cistern about twelve feet in length, now half filled with rubbish and deprived of its vaulting, near which there must be another cistern as a hollow sound is produced by knocking on the partition wall. In the direction of the extreme rear wall, which is still covered with " opus reticulatum ", there is towards the west an opening in the wall, near which the rock appears to have been artificially dressed by the chisel ". (Schoener, Chap. VII).

CHAPTER XXVIII

Grotte dell'Arco e Felce.

On the south side of the island under the cliffs of Mount Solaro, and facing the road leading down to the Scuola Marina, an immense arched cave has been carved by the hand of Nature out of the face of the limestone rock, and has been named by the islanders Grotta dell'Arco. " This cave claims the attention of all antiquarians, naturalists, and geologists on account of a peculiar black shiny substance attached to the limestone rock. It has the form of a protuberance, like the breast of a woman, and seems to have been at some anterior time in a fluid condition. It is met with on the sides and top of the Grotto, and is so hard as to require a hammer to detach it from the rock ". (Feola Chap III). Feislak, Professor of Mineorology in Naples, in a letter to Hadrava, which may be found in Romanelli page 119, writes; " I saw adhering to the limestone rock a substance which was black and shining, which for the moment I believed to be bitumen In order not to be inconvenienced by the pungent odour of this substance, I placed it outside the house in which I was sleeping, and the next morning I found to my surprise that some of the specimens had attracted moisture

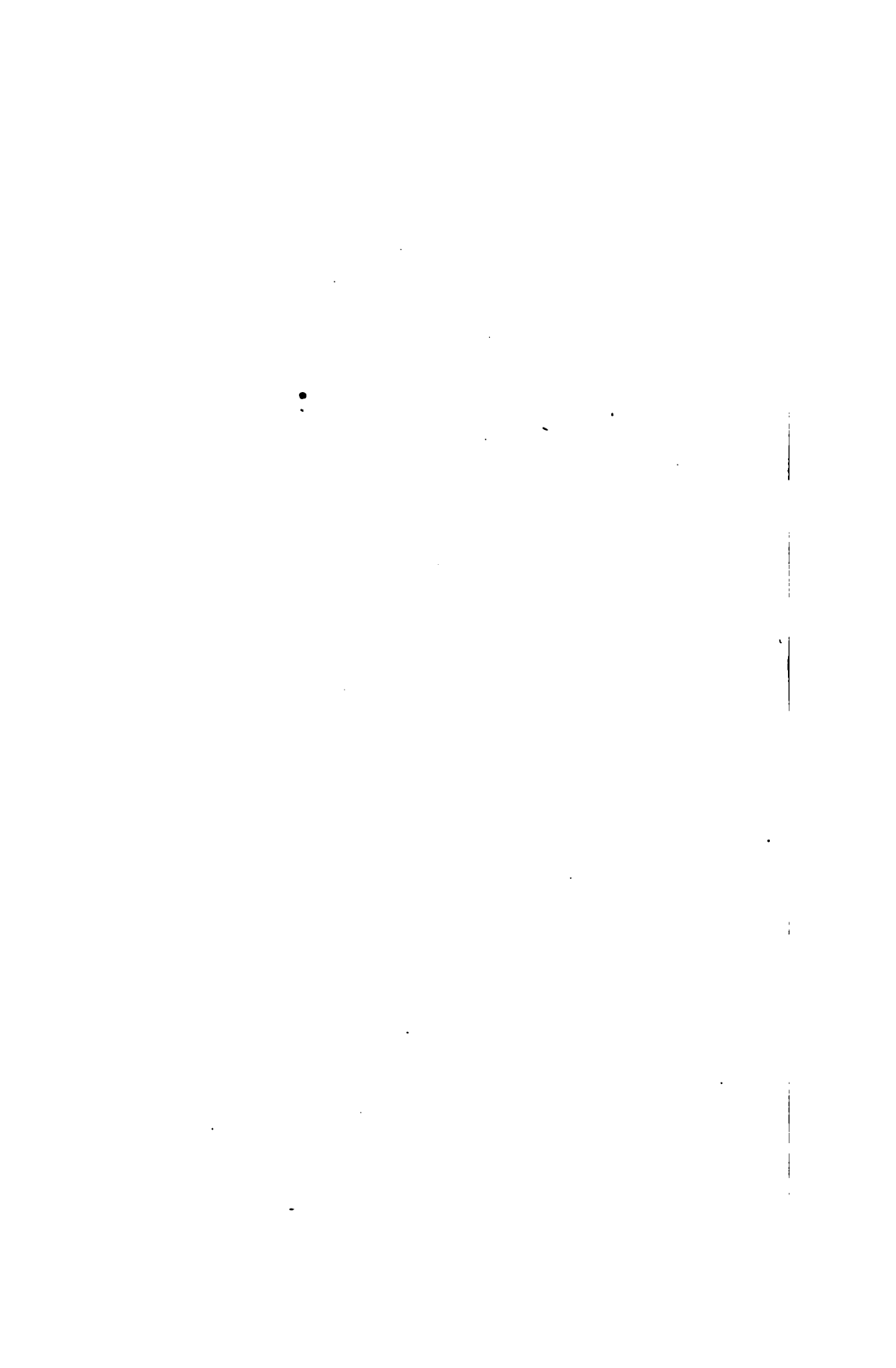
during the night: this caused me to doubt its being bitumen After my arrival in Naples I examined the substance more carefully with my friend Mr. Thomson: after analysing it, we found that it contained nothing but an empyreumatic oil, ammonia, and a residuum of carbon The substance was found on the surface of calcareous rock, forming protuberances like the breasts of a woman, in other places elongated and somewhat compressed, as if it had a certain degree of liquidity. It adhered firmly to the rock, so that it was necessary to detach it with a hammer The taste is like that of tanned shoe leather, and the odour is like that which may be met with in a closed grotto, impregnated with the dung of goats ". (Romanelli, p. 119).

Grotta delle Felce.

As the visitor faces towards the sea looking from the Grotto dell'Arco, he will perceive on his right a smaller Grotto, previously almost concealed by an immense rock which has fallen across the entrance. From the roof and sides of this smaller Grotto hang luxurious festoons of maidenhair fern, from which the place takes its name of the " Fern Grotto ".

Dr. I. Cerio remarks; " In 1882 while occupied in a search for monuments and prehistoric objects, my attention was called to this Grotto, which is a typical " *abri sous roche* ". At a little more than one metre in depth I came upon a great quantity of fragments of pottery, made without the use of the wheel, among which are noticeable the fragments of a large vase with

designs deeply marked, and of graceful form. I found a pointed lance and several bone knives, one flint knife entire, and two broken ones, a hammer of basalt, smoothing tools, mallets, and other objects. Among a large quantity of the bones of ruminant animals, were also human bones. From what I found in this Grotto, which was not completely explored, one may assume that it served for a long time as an habitation for man in the neolithic period ". (Dr. Cerio's Note to Feola, Chap III).



CHAPTER XXIX

" Grotta Oscura " — A lost Grotto.

The very existence of the Grotta Oscura , which prior to 1808 was known to all visitors to Capri, had well nigh passed into oblivion , and its recrudescence is due to an interesting pamphlet " The Blue Grotto and its Literature ", (Adams Bros, 1904), written by Mr Norman Douglass. Mr Douglass proves very conclusively, that the occasional references by early writers to the Grotta Oscura , have been confounded with the Blue Grotto , which he maintains was not mentioned by any writer prior to 1830. .

It is matter of very considerable interest to learn from numerous authorities, (to whom further reference will be made) , that until 1808 a large and important Grotto existed on the south side of the island, a little to the east of the Certosa. This Grotto was the largest of the many Grottos then known: it was oval in shape, the entrance was low and narrow, and water was constantly dripping from the roof. Until the Grotta Oscura was destroyed by a landslip, it appears to have been the principal attraction, and to have been visited by all strangers, who came to Capri. In 1808 it disappeared, and from that year till 1826 Capri was

grotto-less, and would doubtless have remained an obscure and unremembered island, had not August Kopisch fortunately rediscovered, and exploited the now world-famous Blue Grotto.

The Grotta Oscura is mentioned by N. P. Gianetasio "Autumni Surrentini" published in 1698, and again by Serafino Montorio "Zodiaco di Maria Santissima" 1715. The fullest and most interesting description of the Grotto is from the pen of Joseph Addison, "Remarks on Several Parts of Italy in the year 1701, 1702, and 1703". "I entered one, which the inhabitants call Grotta Oscura, and, after the light of the sun was a little worn off my eyes, could see all the parts of it distinctly by a glimmering reflection that played upon them from the surface of the water. The mouth is low and narrow: but, after having entered pretty far in, the Grotto opens itself on both sides in an oval figure of an hundred yards from one extremity to the other, as we were told, for it would not have been safe measuring of it. The roof is vaulted, and distils fresh water from every part, which fell upon us as fast as the first drippings of a shower. The inhabitants and Neapolitans who have heard of Tiberius' grottoes, will have this to be one of them, but there are several reasons which show it to be natural. For besides the little use that we can conceive of such a dark cavern of salt waters there are nowhere any marks of the chisel: the sides are of soft mouldering stone. Not far from this Grotto lie the "Sirenum Scopuli", which Virgil and Ovid mention in Aeneas' voyage: they are two or three sharp rocks that stand about a stones' throw from the south side of the Island".

A passage from a still unpublished manuscript (dated March 23 1828), of the archeologist Feola, explains the disappearance and destruction of the Grotto; " This Grotto , known to us many years ago as the largest of the many that lie round about the island , has now its entrance blocked up. On enquiring as to this change, we were informed of an unexpected event of the 15th of May 1808, whereby the overlying soil, on which was built a high and solid tower of the Carthusians at the time of the Barbary invasions that perished simultaneously, fell away and damaged the said Grotto by closing up its entrance ".

Mangoni also refers to the catasprophe , which robbed Capri of one of its chief attractions. (Mang. Ric. Top. p. 46). " On the eastern side of the Certosa there was built upon an eminence a tower for the defence of that monastery that was of pleasing architecture and very strong , and below it in the interior of the hill was formerly observed a very profound cave called Grotta Oscura. This tower in our days suddenly fell in, together with the little hill on which it was built, so that nowadays one can hardly show its site ".



CHAPTER XXX

Church of San Costanzo.

This small church, which was originally consecrated to the Virgin of the Assumption, is at present dedicated to the patron Saint, of the island, San Costanzo, and is situated in the centre of the Contrada Torre, the district where stood the old town of Capri. It is said to be the oldest place of public worship in the South of Italy. As early as the time of Justianus Favius, the Benedictine monks of Monte Cassino are said to have had possession here; in 987 a Bishopric was established, and the Church then became the Cathedral.

It has the basilica form and probably stood on the site of a pagan temple, though Dr. Schoener is not of that opinion, and says that, " it is certain that the Church did not succeed a Roman temple ".

Wall-painting of Byzantine style, was found a few years ago, when the floor of the Church was repaired; but it is no longer to be seen.

Mangoni tells us that, the Church of San Costanzo was originally adorned with eight columns, found in the region of Aiano, shortly before his time; (in the beginning of the 19th century); four were of " giallo antico ", and the other four of " cipollino ", each being twenty feet in height, and formed of one solid piece.

These columns for many years served to adorn the Church, but the four composed of " giallo antico " were removed in the year 1751 to the Chapel of the Royal Palace of Caserta. (Mang. Ric. Stor. p. 496).

At the entrance to the Presbytery are to be observed two fine columns of " giallo antico ". A single column was found on the property called " Lacala ", somewhat to the south east of the Church, and was cut in half, thus making the two columns: that portion on the left, as you face the altar, plainly showing the fluted base.

The basin for containing holy water " aquasantiera ", near the entrance, is mounted on a handsome antique column of " verde antico ": this column was recovered from the sea by some Capri fishermen, who presented it as a pious offering to their Church.

" The construction is as clearly as possible of the early Christian era. Two high and narrow tunnel vaultings each resting upon eight columns — pillars and columns alternating — cut each in the centre and form, by the aid of four pilasters in each direction, three naves, of which the middle one is five paces broad. Above the crossing of the middle nave rises the cupola. The entrance is on the north side, facing the sea. The whole interior is 18 paces long by 16 wide. In later times additions were added in a southerly direction, which increased its length. One step higher is the presbytery, 16 paces square. It is covered by a cross vaulting with heavy ribs The front is perfectly plain and without any ornamentation of any kind, except a clumsily shaped Gothic door in its centre ". (Schoener, Chap. V).

CHAPTER XXXI

Church of San Stefano.

The Collegiate Church of San Stefano stands on the east side of the Piazza, and is approached by a broad flight of steps. The present edifice, which dates from 1683, stands on the site of a Benedictine hospice, and was erected by the Bishop of Capri, Dionisio Petra. (Máng, Ric, Stor, p. 497). It was consecrated thirty years later by Bishop Gallo.

The magnificent pavement of antique marbles in the Presbytery, was brought from the Villa Jovis in 1759, and presented to the Church by Charles III, King of Naples. It is composed of " giallo antico ", " rosso ", and " saravazza " marbles. Another pavemente of antique marbles, but of less importance, may be seen in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. The pieces of which it is composed, were found in 1888, on the property of Filippo Esposito, at the Palace of Tragara. It was placed in its present position in 1892, the difficult work of arranging and fitting together the small pieces being executed by Oreste Monsagrat, a Roman artist.

In the Chapel of the Sacred Heart are collected a number of interesting sacred relics, which were trans-

ferred to their present resting-place from the Monastery of Certosa. Among the most curious of these is a cross of charred wood set in silver. This cross dates from the Saracen incursion of Barbarossa: the monks of Certosa paraded this cross in order to exorcise the Saracen marauders; the infidels however laid violent hands upon it, and having kindled a huge fire, flung the sacred emblem into the midst of it: after the departure of the Saracens, the cross was discovered slightly charred, but otherwise uninjured. Amongst other relics may be seen a bone of Saint Prospero Martyr, Saint Secundus Bishop and Martyr, and Saints Thomas and Nicolas, as well as those of many other Saints.

In the Chapel of the Crucifixion is a monument with a full length marble figure of Giacomo Arcucci, the founder of Certosa, who died in 1397. (See chapter, Certosa). He holds in his hands a model of the Monastery of Certosa.

The visitor should ask the Sacristan to take him to the Sacristy, where he will be shown a silver half-length figure of St. Jacob, to whom Arcucci dedicated his Monastery of Certosa. There too is preserved the half-length silver image of San Costanzo, (made in 1715), the patron Saint of the island, which is borne in procession through the streets on the day of his Festa, May 14th, The Saint's mitre is adorned with garnets, sapphires, and beryls picked up at the Villa Jovis. At the bottom of the figure can be read these words.

* *Divo Constantio Caprearum Insulae Patrono amantissimo simulacrum hoc ex publica annonae questu,*

piorumque hominum subsidiis, grati animi cives construxere anno ab orbe redempto 1715.

Dignissimo Praesule Ill.mo ac R.mo D. Michaelae Gallo Vaudenegrede ".

A pyx and monstrance also ornamented with emeralds, sapphires, and garnets from Villa Jovis may be seen.

In the floor of the nave are interred the remains of John Hubert, an English Army Doctor, who was converted to the Roman Catholic faith, and died in Capri in 1780, after a life spent in good and charitable works, which are enumerated in an inscription which marks the spot,

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CHAPTER XXXII

Convent of Santa Teresa at Capri.

The Convent of Santa Teresa at Capri was founded in the middle of the 17th century by Serafino di Dio, the daughter of Antonio Piso a Neapolitan: her mother being a native of Capri. The foundation stone was laid by Bishop Pellegrini in October 1666, and the Church was consecrated on October 11th 1685 by the Archbishop of Manfredonia, afterwards Pope Benedict XIII. (Canale, p. 357 & 359). The Convent under the rule of Santa Teresa carried on the work of education till the suppression of the Convent at the beginning of the last century. Besides the Convents at Capri and Anacapri, Serafino di Dio founded Monasteries at Massa, Vico Equense, Nocera, and Torre del Greco. The pious founder died in 1699, at the advanced age of seventy seven.

The Convent of Santa Teresa has long ceased to be used for sacred purposes. The Church of the Convent is dedicated to the Saviour (San Salvatore), and is still used for public worship. On Christmas Eve a most interesting ceremony takes place: on this occasion an allegorical representation of the birth of the infant

Saviour is given, and the holy child is carried in procession round the Church.

The high altar, and two of the side altars, are adorned with antique marbles, " porta santa ", " giallo antico ", " verde antico ", and " saravazza ", which have been dug up at Villa Jovis.

Behind the high altar is a painting, evidently of great antiquity, of Saint Nicolas of Bari: the light however is so bad, that it seems a pity it is not moved to a better position.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Church of San Michele at Anacapri.

The Church of San Michele at Anacapri, connected with the disused Convent of Santa Teresa which was founded in the middle of the 17th century by Serafino di Dio, is worthy of some notice. The door is usually kept locked, but the key can be obtained from the Parocco. The Church is circular in form. A most interesting majolica pavement, representing Adam and Eve, surrounded by the conventional animals in the garden of Eden, is extremely quaint: it was executed in 1761 by Leonardo Chianese. The high altar is rich with particoloured marbles, and flanked by two graceful angels also of marble: in the centre of the high altar is an enormous piece of antique lapis-lazuli, said to be the largest in Europe.

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PART III.

CHAPTER I

English and French occupation of Capri.

English readers should be interested in being reminded, that little less than one hundred years ago we English occupied the island of Capri, though our tenure was brief, and our final exit the reverse of glorious. It seems to bring that time very near our own, when, only the other day, Dr Axel Munthe of Anacapri, summoned to the death bed of an old peasant, over ninety years old, found that, the dying man was wrapped in an old English military coat! (with the buttons still intact to prove its origin).

It would indeed be strange, if the English had not occupied this rocky island, so well suited for defence, in the days of short range guns, and commanding, as it does, the port of Naples, important then, as now, for its commerce: for it is difficult to recall a single island in the Mediterranean that was not held by the English during the Napoleonic wars; Minorca, Ponza, Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Stromboli, Malta, Corsica and many others.

In the year 1806, the Two Sicilies were separated: King Ferdinand IV — husband of Caroline, the famous

Queen of Naples, the friend of Nelson and patron of the notorious Lady Hamilton — was deprived of his entire kingdom, with the exception of the Island of Sicily, to which he was removed with his wife and other valuables in a British man-of-war by our own Lord Nelson. The French entered Naples, and Joseph Buonaparte was proclaimed King: smarting under the crushing defeat of Trafalgar, they made every effort to maintain and regain their position in the Mediterranean, and to exclude British commerce from European ports. With this object in view, they determined to establish garrisons at numerous points along the vulnerable coast of Italy. Recognising at once the strategic importance of Capri, a French garrison was thrown into the island under the command of Captain Chevret, the strength of which was shortly afterwards increased by reinforcements. The French had determined to bring over from Naples heavy artillery and strengthen the garrison, so as to render the island if possible impregnable, but this determination was arrived at too late. Flushed with the glorious victory of Trafalgar, the English conceived that, the sea was their exclusive heritage; that they were destined by Heaven itself to universal dominion over that element: the Mediterranean seemed but a British lake, over which they could brook no rivalry; the more desperate the enterprise, the more attractive it seemed to the many bold sea captains, trained in the glorious school of Nelson, and taught to consider no odds too great, no hardships insuperable. The English having got wind, through their spies, of the design of the French to further strengthen the island of Capri, decided to

anticipate them. For this purpose a fleet under Sir Sydney Smith, consisting of four vessels, including one frigate and two Sicilian bomb-boats, was collected, and on the morning of May 12th 1806 an unexpected attack was made on the Grande Marina, on the north side of the island. The French, though taken by surprise, bravely defended themselves, and repelled with spirit the attempts of the English to effect a landing. For some hours the contest was sustained on both sides; the French firing briskly from behind the numerous rocks and boulders, which line the coast, and the English pouring in a demoralising fire from their heavy guns afloat. However, towards evening the English effected a landing at a point near the Grande Marina, which they would have been unable to do had the French been provided with artillery. Under cover of night, the "royalists" — for so the historian calls the mixed force of English, Neapolitans, Corsicans, and Sicilians, — advanced in force across the saddle, that connects the twin massifs of the island, and attacked the heights of "Castello" or, Castiglione, which commands the village. The French commander, Captain Chevret, was himself in command at this point, and in attempting to stem the impetuous rush of the Royalists, was killed, together with a handful of his men. In the morning the village of Capri was occupied by about 300 English: the loss to the Royalists being only three men killed and wounded. Captain Chevret was buried with military honours, and the French troops were allowed to retain their arms, and were conveyed to the mainland on board their own ships.

A civil Governor was sent over by King Ferdinand from Sicily, to administer the island. During the short period of the English occupation the Caprese enjoyed complete protection for themselves and their property, and at the same time luxuriated in abundance of cheap food, which was brought from Sicily or captured from the enemy's ships by the English cruisers. Colonel Lowe (afterwards Sir Hudson Lowe), who was appointed military Governor, took up his quarters at the Palazzo Inglese, or Canale, and at once set to work with energy and determination to put the island into a complete state of defence. The heights of San Michele, S. Maria Soccorso, Castiglione, and Cesina were crowned with batteries of heavy artillery, the Grande and Piccola Marinas were also fortified. At Anacapri Captain Church was appointed engineer and inspector of the coast at that end of the island, and erected stockades at the Chapel of San Antonio (at the head of the stairs), at S. Maria Cetrella, at Damaceuta, and at several places along the western coast. In a letter to his brother dated April 17th 1807 Captain Church writes; " By offering rewards for the balls fired by the British ships into the island, when the place was taken, and which were to be found in the vineyards, I have recruited as far as 500 extra rounds ". Strong walls were also built at various points, and huge masses of rock rolled into the sea to prevent the approach of vessels. So impregnable did the English consider that they had made the island, that, in after dinner speeches, when warmed by the good red wine of Capri, they called it, half in joke, " the little Gibraltar ", a piece of bragadocio which they must

soon have regretted. The English held the island for about three years, and during that time their cruisers entirely crippled the sea commerce between Naples and the provinces. According to Pietro Colletta who wrote a "History of the Kingdom of Naples" (1838), and himself took part in the landing of the French at Anacapri, two attempts were made to recapture Capri during the reign of Joseph, but they were foiled by the vigilance of the Governor, and the presence of an English fleet. Captain Church in a letter to his brother writers; "On March 1st a division of 2000 or 3000 French under General Merlin embarked from Baia, and were half way across, when a tempest arose which obliged them to put back". In 1808 Joachim Murat, — who had married Caroline Buonaparte, the youngest sister of the great Napoleon, — received the crown of Naples. No more brilliant and chivalrous figure than Murat, (the son of a country innkeeper), "le beau sabreur" of the imperial cavalry, flashes across the dazzling firmament of daring soldiers of fortune, whom Napoleon delighted to honour, and to raise to pinnacles of glory, hitherto reserved exclusively for members of a privileged class. Thus Napoleon himself describes him; "Murat is a good soldier—one of the most brilliant men I ever saw on the field of battle. Of no superior talents: without moral courage: timid even in forming his plan of operations: but the moment he saw the enemy, all that vanished — his eye was the most sure, and the most rapid — his courage truly chivalrous. Moreover he is a fine man, tall and well-dressed, though at times rather

" fantastically. It was really a magnificent sight to see
" him in battle leading the cavalry ".

This gallant leader, eager to justify his choice as King of Naples, and to inaugurate his reign by some deed of successful daring, was not the man to calmly endure the sight of the English complacently occupying their " little Gibraltar ", and he at once determined to make another and more concerted effort to dislodge them, and remove the stigma of their presence. The expedition for the recapture of Capri was planned with the greatest secrecy, Murat only confiding his plans to the Minister of War, and Pietro Colletta, an officer of engineers, who was entrusted with the dangerous and delicate task of reconnoitering the island, disguised as a fisherman, to find out where a landing could most safely be made, and of ascertaining what opposition was likely to be met with. Orders were given that all the ships of war and transports lying at Naples should be put in commission, so that when the favourable moment arrived no valuable time might be lost. It was of vital importance for the success of the enterprise that absolute secrecy should be maintained, that the English fleet should be absent, and that the sea should be perfectly calm, as there is no anchorage for large vessels, and the bays which are accessible are impracticable in stormy weather.

A conjunction of all these favourable conditions occurred on October 4th 1808, for the Commandant of Capri, having supposed the expedition destined for the attack of the Ponza islands, had despatched thither the frigate " Ambuscade ", Captain D'Urban, and other ships of war, which had been stationed at Capri

accordingly on that day orders were given to the captains of the French transports to hold themselves ready, to get under way at a minute's notice. The fleet, comprising one frigate, and one corvette, convoyed nearly 100 transports, having on board 2000 soldiers. Lamarque, a General of Division, was Commander-in-chief of the expedition, with Generals Mont-Serras, Destres, and the Prince of Strongoli Pignatelli, assisted by Adjutants Chevardes and Thomas. The fleet was divided into three divisions, the main flotilla containing about 1500 troops, composed of Carabineers and Grenadiers and a strong force of the Royal Guard, sailed from Naples and Puzzuoli; another small squadron sailed from Castellammare and the remainder from Salerno, having on board 400 men of the French Corsican regiment quartered there. By dividing their fleet into three divisions, the French hoped to divert the attention of Colonel Lowe from their true objective, the heights of Anacapri, where they were determined to force a landing. To prevent his concentrating his forces on Anacapri, a vigorous attack was simultaneously delivered by the Castellammare and Salerno squadrons, on the Grande and Piccola Marinas.

The two Marinas were defended by a cordon of boats, fastened together at prow and stern, and filled with riflemen. Captain Panettiere, a Corsican, commanded a force at Punta Tragara, and a battery was established at Matromania. It will be interesting to consider what forces Colonel Lowe had to oppose to the French attack. Captain Church had been placed in command at Anacapri with his Corsican Rangers: in a letter to his sister he writes; "I am sole governor here,

civil and military. My military force consists of two
“ companies, besides an officer's detachment of forty
“ men, making my regular troops about 200, and two
“ four-pounders. Besides these I have about sixty mil-
“ itia, and some few of the King of Naples' gamekeep-
“ ers. I am at the advanced post, the first to be
“ attacked when King Giuseppe (Buonaparte), shall be
“ that way inclined. I am totally independent of the
“ commanding officer, except what relates to the regi-
“ ment, and communicate with him by telegraph and
“ night signals. The population consists of about 900
“ people, not one of whom can go down to Capri
“ without my passport. There is here a convent of
“ nuns, and a college for ecclesiastical education. I
“ am on great terms with the “ abbadessa ”, a most
“ respectable old lady, who was obliged to fly from
“ Naples by the French, and is much attached to the
“ English. We correspond almost daily, and as often
“ as possible I make her a present of fish, fresh butter,
“ hams, and anything I can pick up! ” (“ Sir Richard
Church in Italy and Greece ”. p. 11).

Previously, however, to the French attack, a Maltese regiment had been sent to Capri, by way of strengthening the garrison, under the command of Major Hamill; this was an unfortunate event, for the Maltese were of inferior fighting material, though their commander Major Hamill, was a gallant soldier: Captain Church was therefore relieved by Major Hamill, and with his Corsicans joined Colonel Lowe at Capri. The two regiments together furnished an effective force of 1800 men to oppose the French.

Colonel Lowe, assisted by the batteries posted at Matromania, Castiglione, and Tragara had no difficulty in repelling the attacks on the Grande and Piccola Marinas, and the French ships soon retired beyond range of the British heavy guns, having accomplished their object in preventing Colonel Lowe from sending reinforcements to Major Hamill at Anacapri. As soon as the attack on the Marinas began to relax, the British commander promptly despatched two companies of the Corsican Rangers, each of 100 men, under the command of Captains Church and Susino, to strengthen the toops defending Anacapri, where he at length perceived that the main attack was being made. As the Corsican Rangers had been previously quartered for a long time at Anacapri, they knew every pass and precipice at that end of the island, and were well suited for the work in hand.

We will now proceed to recount the attack on Anacapri, and in doing so, will follow as far as possible, the account of Pietro Colletta, who, it will be remembered, was himself one of the attacking party, and one of the first to land at Orico. The French had selected Anacapri for their main attack, because this part of the island was not defended by heavy guns, and when once captured, the rest of the island could easily be dominated from its heights. The point selected to attempt a landing was Orico, not far from the Blue Grotto: the French vessels approached within short range, and under a heavy covering fire an attempt was made to land by means of ladders, one end being placed on the rocks and the other on the ships, The first to reach the land were the Grenadiers and French

Corsican Rangers, led by their adjutant Thomas. Colletta says that no opposition was offered to the landing party, and that the number who landed were only 500, (of whom 135 were killed or wounded), that the weather then became so stormy that the ships had to stand out to sea, and the disembarkation ceased. Other accounts state that the whole force of 1500 men landed, and that then the flotilla proceeded to cover another body of Corsicans from the Salerno squadron, who under cover of night had effected a landing at Punta Gradelle, while still another party gained a precarious footing at Rio and Lupanaro to the south of Orico.

At break of day the attack was renewed, the French advanced in two columns, the English camp at Demaceuta was rushed, and the defenders, finding themselves overwhelmed by numbers, retired to the higher ground. The stairs, leading from Capri to Anacapri, having been occupied, and the fort at the head of the stairs surrounded, Major Hamill and his Maltese found their retreat from Capri cut off: they were attacked on all sides by the French Corsicans, Major Hamill was killed ¹, and the Maltese, disheartened by

¹ John Hamill, a native of Ireland, was a man of much tried military experience, and during the attack on Capri having given proof of the greatest attention to duty, and that courage that fits a man for command, had gained the respect of his fellow countrymen and of King Ferdinand. The gallant Major was hastily buried a short distance from the place where he fell with so much glory and distinction. The disturbances of war did not allow a more honourable burial. But not long after his fall, his cousins John and Caroline Hamill, came to Naples to search for his remains, and with the help

the loss of their gallant leader, retreated in disorder to Monte Solaro, where two companies of English had already fortified themselves: having no artillery, and finding that the French had surrounded, and were about to attack them, they demanded terms, and surrendered to the number of 800 men on the morning of October 5th. The two companies of English Corsicans, taking advantage of the darkness, and of the suspension of hostilities to define the terms of surrender, and being well acquainted with the country, effected their retreat unperceived by the enemy.

Captain Church with the third company found himself cut off, and his retreat intercepted. "What was to be done? He, with his little force remained quiet till eight o' clock in the evening, hoping that the

of a peasant, having succeeded in finding the place of his burial, piously collected the remains and had them buried in the parish Church. As he had been a worthy man, and belonged to a Roman Catholic family, his relations requested that a monument should be raised to his memory: in order that, a memorial of the circumstances, and a lasting record of the departed might be preserved, his relations caused the following inscription to be carved on a marble tablet:

TO THE MEMORY OF JOHN HAMILL

A native of County Antrim in Ireland, and Major in his Britannic Majesty's late regiment of Malta, who fell while bravely resisting the French invasion of Anacapri on the 4th of October 1808; and whose mortal remains are deposited near to this place, this tribute of affection and respect has been placed by his kinsman and namesake, October 3rd 1839.

REQUIESCAT IN PACE

enemy would re-embark, and leave them free to descend the rocky stairs, and rejoin their friends at Capri below. But just then the moon rose, and under her calm clear light the enemy were to be seen forming into columns, and advancing across the plain, with beat of drum and fire of musketry. " Finding all hopes of defending the post I occupied, entirely dissipated ", he says, in his report; " I threw the gun I had into the " sea, and commenced my retreat by the left, marching " through vineyards and narrow roads leading from " Dama Conta (Damaceuta) to the Capo di Monte, the " only retreat I had left, all others being occupied by " the enemy ". But, to his amazement, they had not gone a quarter of a mile when they were met by a challenge. They had marched straight upon a large body of French troops! Richard Church's ready wits did not desert him: reflecting that the dark uniforms of his Corsicans would be a protection, he answered readily in French that they were French troops pushing on to rejoin their comrades below: and as Murat had a regiment of Corsican sharpshooters they were allowed to pass without difficulty. But the red uniforms of some Maltese who were following them discovered the trick, and brought down a volley upon the adventurous captain and his men, doing no harm, however, for the Corsicans knew the country, and speedily dispersed among the sheltering rocks. But to descend the rocky stairs to Capri, was manifestly impossible, and yet to Capri they were bound to go. There was nothing for it but to climb down the face of the rock which divides Anacapri from Capri: and this they did, scrambling along a goat-track through the darkness,

clinging to bush here, to crag there: and not daring to speak even in whispers: feeling sometimes that all was up with them if a pebble dislodged from its place bounded echoing down the cliff: and at last, finding themselves safely at the bottom, with the loss of only one poor fellow, whose foot slipped, and who was killed by falling from the rocks into the valley below. This daring feat received its due meed of praise from the colonel and commandant, Hudson Lowe. "Captain Church's exertions," he reports, "were peculiarly conspicuous. The orderly retreat of this detachment, through parties of the enemy and down precipices heretofore deemed impracticable, forms the highest eulogium on the officer who guided it. They had been twenty hours under arms and in constant movement." ("Sir Richard Church in Italy and Greece". pp. 14, 15, 16).

The position of Colonel Lowe in Capri was still far from desperate, he had with him 1000 men, including the Corsicans who had escaped from Anacapri. At that time the town of Capri was defended on the northern and western sides by a strong wall, then in good condition: the fortifications of San Michele and Cesina commanded the road leading from the Grande Marina, and those of the Castiglione or Castello commanded the approach from the Piccola Marina. There were also several stockades on the stairs leading to Anacapri, and these were filled with troops by Colonel Lowe. Besides this, the British commander had every expectation of reinforcements, supplies, and the co-operation of the Anglo-Sicilian fleet, which had sailed for Ponza prior to the attack on Capri, and which by

this time was certainly aware of his precarious position. Although Fortune had so far frowned upon him, still if he could hold his own for a few days only, relief was sure to come, and in the hands of a more spirited and experienced General, (for Colletta distinctly asserts that, " he had no experience in war, though a good " disciplinarian "), a seeming disaster might at the last moment have been transformed into a brilliant success. But unfortunately Lowe was not made of that stern material, which defies Fortune; his prowess, as a leader of men at this crisis, is as much open to criticism, as was seven years later, his conduct as the guardian of a Hero. Those who would estimate at its true value the character of Colonel, afterwards Sir Hudson Lowe, must read the pages of " Napoleon at St Helena ", by Forsyth, " Napoleon in Exile " by O' Meara, and " Sir Hudson Lowe and Napoleon ", by Seaton: here they will, we venture to think, be convinced that, though he was conscientious, he was tyrannical, timid, narrow and bowed down by the magnitude of his European responsibility; in a word a man of equations and ounces, and not of avoirdupois.

The French greatly encouraged by the ease with which they had expelled the Royalists from Anacapri, set to work with prodigious energy and enterprise to strengthen their position. With infinite labour they dragged guns of heavy calibre up the almost inaccessible rocks of Monte Solaro, and succeeded in establishing a battery on the top of S. Maria a Cetrella, which completely commands the town below. Not content with this effort, they decided to attempt with a picked force of men to force the Anacapri stairway, which was at

that time the only means of communication between the two parts of the island. This stairway consisted of more than 500 steps cut out of the face of the cliff, and being defended by cannon placed on the heights above, and the greater part being also within range of the batteries on Cesina and San Michele, the undertaking was one requiring unusual courage. On the night of October 5th the attempt to gain possession of the stairway was made: the Royalists poured down on the French an incessant rain of shot and shell, and obstinately contested every inch of the way, but finally the French, assisted by the darkness, drove back the enemy, and made their way into the valley of the Marina, where they planted a battery at Campo Pisco. Under cover of this battery, and that of S. Maria a Cetrella, the French advanced near the town of Capri, and taking possession of the houses in the vicinity, kept up a brisk and galling fire on the Royalists, who being inferior in numbers, were driven behind the walls of the town.

The Royalists found themselves invested in the town of Capri, and continually exposed to a heavy cannonade from the battery on S. Maria a Cetrella, when on October 7th the beleaguered garrison was cheered by the sight of the Anglo-Sicilian fleet, which appeared unexpectedly in the offing. The relieving fleet proved to be of considerable strength, consisting of 4 frigates, 2 corvettes, 4 bomb-boats, and 9 transports, and doubtless Colonel Lowe felt that, at last his hour had come, and that by the opportune succour thus sent him, he might retrieve his former errors, and in the end expel the hitherto triumphant French. The

fleet immediately surrounded the island, and cut off all communication with the mainland, but on account of the high wind it was not practicable to land troops from the transports. The commander of the Anglo-Sicilian fleet hoped, by depriving the French of ammunition and supplies, to force them to surrender to Colonel Lowe. However, the English star was not at that moment in the ascendant; the wind increased in violence, and Colonel Lowe, who was evidently not a "Man of Destiny" — like his future prisoner,—saw with despair the fleet stand out to sea, and leave him and his hard-pressed forces to their own resources. Perceiving this freak of Capri weather, Murat, who was himself at Capo di Campanella, gave orders that a flotilla of gunboats, and vessels laden with supplies and ammunition, which was lying in readiness at Massa, should run over to Capri, in spite of the heavy weather. The English ships endeavoured to intercept them, but did not arrive in time, and though the French flotilla was hotly cannonaded, it succeeded in reaching the island in safety, the boats were beached, and the cargoes discharged. The weather now became so stormy, that the Anglo-Sicilian fleet was compelled to run for Sicily, and thus the French were left free to carry on the siege of Capri undisturbed.

General Lamarque now determined to push the siege with redoubled vigour, knowing that if the weather improved, the Anglo-Sicilian fleet would return, and make another, and more obstinate effort to extricate the imprisoned garrison. A continual cannonade was kept up by the French night and day, which caused much damage to the walls and houses of the town,

and considerable loss of life to the Royalists. Finally on October 16th Colonel Lowe lost all hope of success or relief, and fearing that the French might carry the town by assault, hoisted a white flag. The French offered favourable terms, which were accepted, and the Royalists marched out with flying colours, arms and baggage to the " Certosa ", which was assigned to them as their quarters after the capitulation. Once again ill Fortune seems to have dogged Colonel Lowe and his troops; the ink with which the capitulation was signed, was scarcely dry, when a powerful English fleet, which had been sent expressly from Sicily to relieve the island, hove in sight. It had however, arrived too late; the capitulation had already been formally signed; so nothing remained for honourable soldiers, but to embark on their own ships: in spite of the heavy weather this was accomplished, and the garrison was conveyed to Sicily.

Leaving behind him a suitable garrison under Adjutant Thomas, the new Commandant, General Lamarque with his Generals, and the remaining troops left for Naples, where they were received with enthusiasm by the King, and were presented with pictures, made on the spot, representing the attack on Capri by land and sea. Adjutant Thomas at once set to work to fortify the island in such a manner, that its recapture would be a work of great difficulty. To prevent any approach through the " Bocca Piccola ", (the channel separating the island from the mainland), he erected a fort at Lo Capo, under S. Maria del Soccorso, in which he placed five heavy guns, and constructed a road from the fort to the top of the hill behind it. At the Grande

Marina he built two forts, one to the east on the foundations of the old Monastery of San Francesco, and the other at the Campo Militare, now the Villa of Monsieur G. Dubufe. Forts were also erected by him on the heights above the anchorage of the Piccola Marina, while at Anacapri forts were built at Pino, Campetiello, Orico, and Gradelle. The "plateau" of Castiglione, which being in the middle of the island was of considerable strategic importance, was fortified and supplied with cannon, engineers were sent to the island to furnish plans for a port at the Grande Marina, which was to have been strongly fortified; but the disasters which soon after fell on the French arms in the Russian campaign, prevented the carrying out of these intentions.

A Judge was sent to Capri by Murat, to settle all legal questions and disputes as to property, the island still remaining divided into the two Communes of Capri and Anacapri. This state of things did not, however, last long, for in 1815 the Bourbons were restored to Naples, and, as before, the island was administered by a civil and military Governor.

Of this siege, the only thing which remains at Capri to recall it, is the ruined west side of the Palazzo Inglese or Canale, whose walls were demolished by the French battery at Cetrella, and have never been rebuilt, and a few rusty seven pounders, which are dug up by the peasants in their vineyards, and some of which are in the possession of the writer.

LETTER FROM COLONEL LOWE TO GENERAL LAMARQUE.

24 October 1808.

On board H. B. M. Frigate

" L' AMBUSCADE ".

General,

The proofs of fairness and kindness which I have received from you, embolden me to beg you to aid us in embarking the few people and effects which remain ashore. The ships boats have been nearly all swamped in this work, and it is only the large feluccas of the locality which can stand the severity of the wind and sea. An officer from shore having signalled to the captain, that you desire free passage, and communication between Capri and Naples for three days after the evacuation of our troops shall have taken place, I have the honour of sending you a pass, and rest assured that our cruisers will put no obstacle in the way of anything that you may desire to send to the coast, for the three days following the departure of the troops.

There remain on shore three horses, of which two belong to me, and one to a wounded officer. If circumstances do not permit their embarkation at present, I would beg that they may be left in the charge of my servant until I can send a boat to take them off. In case there remains some of the officer's baggage and some women, I desire to leave an officer on shore to take charge of them, until it be possible to send a boat to get them — availing myself of what you and Gen. Thomas have kindly indicated regarding this matter.

Some of my personal effects are still at the nunnery, as I did not wish to overcrowd the boats with it yesterday, and which I fear I am unable to take away at present. I shall ask permission to take them away at the same time as the other things.

Assuring you General, of perfect reciprocity on our part in all that may depend on my representation to my superiors, both naval and military, and also of my personal thanks.

I have the honour to be General
With the highest consideration
Your most obedient and faithful servant
H. LOWE
LT. COL. COM.
TROOPS OF H. B. M.

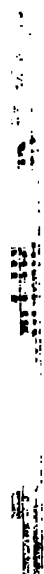
(Extract from the Report of General Lamarque to the King of Naples in regard to the capture of Capri by the French and Neapolitan troops in 1808).

“ Voyage de Naples a Capri et a Pestum ”
J. E. CHEVALLEY DE RIVAZ. 1846

“ If I should make known to your Majesty all those who have distinguished themselves, it would be necessary for me to send you a complete list of all the combatants, and above all of the 700 brave fellows, who on October 4th scaled the heights of Anacapri. Special mention however must be made of Generals Pignatelli Strongoli and Cattaneo, naval lieutenant Barabara, my aide-be-camp Peirio, Captains Caraffa, Sau-

ray, Ciruti, Lanzetta and Brocheti; all the Neapolitan sappers, and among them specially Serjeant Dom-manga and the artillery officers Salvo and Codelui. In the royal Corsican regiment I will specially mention Galloni, the chief of the battalion, which held for three days the Red House, the most advanced post, and exposed to a cross fire of three batteries of the enemy: Captain Pompei, who deserves promotion, lieutenants Rezz, Galvani, Bonavita, adjutant Hector (wounded); Napoleon Mastretti, Lega, Paolini and Massoni serjeants of carabineers, Silvestri and Cometi corporals, who captured two cannon, Agostini and Graziani of the carabineers. Speaking generally that regiment suffered heavier loss than any other, but it also inflicted more severe punishment on the enemy and gained greater glory.

The grenadiers of the second Napolitan regiment defended the ships with unusual intrepidity, and several of them were wounded by the fire and attack of the enemy's frigates and other vessels. The detachment of the first Neapolitan regiment under the command of its officers Alberti, Palmieri, and Cerillo made itself conspicuous, as well as serjeants Toni and Madolina. I have nothing but praise for the soldiers of the third Italian regiment of the line, which served with courage and discipline fully equal to that of any French regiment; Captain Terini in command of these chosen companies is worthy of special mention. In short all the troops have done their duty, and the General Pignatelli and Colonel Arcovito have shown the greatest enthusiasm, bravery and devotion ".



CHAPTER II

Unknown Grottos, and rock-climbers. ¹

(Written by Dr. Hans Heinz Ewers).

Everyone who has made even a short stay in the Pearl of the Gulf of Naples, will be sure to know the White Grotto (Grotta Bianca): it is always included in the " giro ", or tour of the island by boat. After entering the White Grotto in a small fishing boat you land on the rock, and find another salt lake inside the first, climbing still further you find yourself before a second dark pool of salt water, which apparently has no connection with the sea. At the mouth of the White Grotto, your boatman is sure to point out to you another Grotto at a height of about forty feet above the sea, which opens wide to the blue sea, giving a glimpse of huge stalactites. He will tell you that this cave is haunted by mighty ghosts and no money would induce him to explore its uncanny depths — this seems all the more probable because he could not possibly climb the vertical cliff, which separates the Grotto from the sea beneath.

¹ In the year, 1900 Mr. Oakely Maund, accompanied by Lieut Ralston Kennedy R. E., and Mr. Harold E. Trower, British Consular Agent at Capri, chartered a sailing boat of about 20 tons, and had her towed to the mouth of the White

Early on the morning of August 5th 1902, accompanied by my wife, Ilma Ewers-Wunderwald, Charles Boehme, the well known painter of marine subjects, and F. Shushard also a German painter, I took a boat for the White Grotto, determined, if possible, to explore the innermost recesses of the upper Grotto, so far unbaptised, and not admitted into the respectable society of the other legitimate Capri Grottos, the Blue, the White, the Green, the Red. For how can an anonymous Grotto be tolerated even in lenient Capri? I took with me two peasants, Natale and Peppino, who could climb with the certainty and agility of apes. I was also provided with some stout rope, 100 feet in length, and the

Grotto from the Grande Marina, and moored to the rocks, so that the yard of the big lateen sail was brought within about four feet of the upper Grotto, since christened by Dr. Hans Heinz Ewers, the "Grotta Maravigliosa". Mr. Maund offered 25 Lire to any of the men who accompanied him, who would climb up the yard and enter the Grotto. After some hesitation a monkey faced youth of about eighteen volunteered to make the ascent, and having had a rope tied round his waist, to guard against accidents, he succeeded after two or three attempts, in gaining a foot-hold and entered the Grotto. He then proceeded to fix a tackle and block to a projecting point of rock, by means of which Mr Kennedy hauled himself up, and made a cursory examination of the interior of the Grotto. Mr. Kennedy was not provided with candles, but on descending he told the writer that he had penetrated about 100 yards, and that the Grotto ran uphill at rather a steep gradient. Mr. Maund had intended to have a corkscrew staircase erected, by means of which the public might in fine weather ascend to the Grotto, and he had even gone so far as to have estimates prepared, but death unfortunately cut short this philanthropic project. (The Editor).

ladder belonging to the Capri Cathedral, lent me by the kindness of the Parroco. As the rock is over-hung to a height of nearly eight yards above the sea, we were compelled to plant our ladder in the water. Natale and I climbed up the ladder and secured a foot-hold on the wall of rock. We were now about ten yards above the sea, but there was still another thirty yards of perpendicular rock to be negotiated before the top was reached. Inch by inch we crept upwards, until with bleeding hands and feet we drew ourselves to the top, and lowered a string to which our friends below attached a stout rope and pulley, this we hauled up and made fast to a convenient stalactite. By means of rope and pulley we drew up first my wife, and then the two painters.

The fateful and long expected moment of entering the Grotto was now at hand: for a few seconds we hesitated to disturb with our twentieth century feet the dust of a thousand years, and to penetrate into the "arcana" of the unknown, but soon Progress and Philistinism routed hesitation and sentiment, and we passed on over that wonderful brittle, yellow and blue, glittering carpet of sand. I fear that my description of this Grotto of Marvels will be poor and inadequate, and indeed to do it full justice would tax the pen of a Milton, or the word-moulding of the author of "Childe Harold". The mouth of the Grotto is wide and slopes downwards towards the sea: its length is about 400 feet 100 of which is level; for the remaining 300 feet the floor of the Grotto slopes gradually upwards. The greatest breadth is 50 feet, and the height 80 to 100 feet. Whichever way you turn your eyes strange and unex-

pected phantasies meet your half terrified gaze. Here a group of white long-necked, sharp-billed herons, crowned with verdant halos of maidenhair fern, seem to hover beneath the blue ceiling. There, a cluster of great brown mushrooms, as large as a man, seem to grow, while behind them appears a vista of white lace curtains of the finest texture. Here are stalactites, each 20 yards in length, of a dark blue colour, just like the blue posts we see on the Canals of Venice, to which the gondoliers lash their gondolas. Again we see others as silver-white as the pipes of a huge Cathedral organ. An enormous black polypous seems to be crawling down the wall of rock, above this monster hang suspended from the roof bamboo canes, the colour of water, and as slender as a pencil. In the midst of the Grotto you will discover a circular lake of intensest blue, in which plays a fountain, all around grow big bushes of yellow cowslip and golden wallflower—all of stone, to be sure!!

For its wonders of colour and form, and on account of the strange fantastic shapes and ghostly apparitions which inhabit its recesses, we determined to call the Grotto, Wundergrotto, Maravigliosa, the Grotto of Marvels. The Grotta Azzura is justly admired for its wondrous blue colour, but this marvellous colour-effect sinks into neutral tints and nothingness, when compared with the intensely rich hues of our new-found Grotto. The dark blue sea throws its reflections (as in the Grotta Azzura), from beneath onto the opening of the Grotta Maravigliosa: as you advance the intense blueness shades off to a light blue green, and in the far end of the Grotto it has turned to the green of a

polished emerald. On the right hand side of the roof, you will observe hanging a cluster of rose-coloured stalactites, two steps further on they appear to possess the dazzling whiteness of snow: now again they are yellow, blue and black, a very kaleidoscope of changing brilliancy of colour. Yet strange to say, in this scheme of colour, apparently so bizarre and strongly contrasted, there is no jarring note; all is in perfect harmony of colour.

We think we have said enough to prove, that we were indeed justified in christening this latest addition to the famous galaxy of Capri Grottos, " Maravigliosa ", " Wundergrotto ", " The Grotto of Marvels ".

GROTTA DI S. MARIA DEL SOCCORSO,
GROTTA DI TIBERIO, OR GROTTA DEL MONACO

By these names is variously called that vast Grotto, which is formed under the Villa Jovis, at a height of about 180 metres above the sea. With the exception of the Grotto Castiglione and the Grotta Maravigliosa, it is the most extensive Grotto on the island. There is a tradition or legend that an underground passage connected the Grotta S. Maria del Soccorso with the Villa Jovis. Signor Canale in his book, " Storia dell'Isola di Capri ", informs us that he discovered the entrance to this subterranean passage, inside a house on Monte Tiberio, that he caused it to be excavated for a distance of 100 metres, but proceeded no further.

Dr. Schoener saw this passage, and describes it in his book "Capri", pp. 84-86: he also tells us that he interviewed one of the workmen, who described the wonders and glories of the Grotto, its wealth of gorgeous colours, blue, yellow, white: "era troppo magnifico", said this enthusiastic labourer, finding he had come to an end of his laudatory epithets. However, truth compels me to aver, that this labourer must have had a singularly pictorial and fertile imagination, for I myself have visited the Grotto and found it ugly, devoid of brilliancy, and not in the least "magnificent"!

Having had my curiosity whetted by Dr. Schoner's description, I determined to explore for myself this Grotto. Accordingly, accompanied by my wife and my two climbers, Peppino and Natale, and supplied with some stout rope and a ladder, I took a boat from the Piccola Marina to the little beach, Cala del Salto, which is immediately beneath the Grotto. From thence we began our ascent, which was difficult and somewhat dangerous, as the rocks have an unpleasant trick of unexpectedly taking a fancy to leave us, and "take a header" into the blue sea far below. The entrance is lofty and fully open to the weather; we found the floor covered with a fine dust, moist from the constant dripping of water from the roof: there were no traces of stalagmites or stalactites, in fact nothing of special interest was observed. We found, however, an underground passage, which ascended in the direction of the Villa Jovis, but as it was choked with fallen rocks and debris, we were unable to penetrate more than a few metres. We discovered, embedded in the sand of the floor two Roman coins, one of silver, the other

of bronze. It is not possible that these coins can have fallen or been thrown from above, because they were found well inside the Grotto itself.

The writer concludes his interesting description of the Grotto by surmising, that a careful excavation would bring to light many interesting Roman antiquities.



CHAPTER III

Quail shooting and netting. ¹

The island of Capri has always been a specially favourite resting place for the quail in their spring and autumn flights, and the capture of quail by means of nets has been a substantial, and welcome source of income to the islanders. So important a part did the quail industry play a couple of hundred years ago that, Antonio Parrino, who wrote a description of the Bay of Naples in 1727, says; " For its spiritual needs Capri has a bishop, who derives most of his income from the quails, turtle doves, and other bird of passage , which are caught here in abundance ". The bishopric of Capri has long since ceased to exist, but happily the quail have not followed the bishop and deserted our coasts, though they are not taken in such numbers as they were a hundred years ago, which may be explained by the increase of netting in Egypt and Palestine. Hadrava, who wrote in 1793 a series of letters on Capri, says that in his time as many as 12,000 quail were taken in a single day, and 150,000 in the fifteen days

¹ The contents of this Chapter appeared as an article in " The Field " of Nov. 14th 1903, and is reprinted here by the kind permission of the Editor of that paper:

during which the flight lasted. Even in our times large profits have been made by quail netting, and an old inhabitant has assured me that a peasant, who paid him £3 per annum rent for the right of netting a small piece of land, took in a good season, quail to the value of £24, while on larger tracts five or six times that amount would be realised during the two flights. Ferdinand IV King of Naples, and husband of Caroline, the friend of Nelson, was a great sportsman, and used to come every season to Capri for the quail shooting with a party of jovial companions. He used to spend fourteen or fifteen days on the island, and always lodged at the Palazzo Inglese (now called Palazzo Canale), afterwards the headquarters of Sir Hudson Lowe, the Governor of the island during the English occupation, 1806 to 1808.

The apparatus for the fixed nets consists of poles about 30ft. in height and 50ft. apart, to which are attached several rows of pockets, into which the quail drop, and become entangled in the meshes. The height of the nets varies considerably; those placed near the sea not being so high, as those on the uplands and crests.

There are two flights of quail, in the months of May and September. During the spring flight, the birds fly very low on the water and reach the island early in the morning, unless they are anticipating a storm, in which case they land on the hills. During the spring flight (May) the quail arrive with a N. W. wind in the evening, and an easterly wind the following morning. When the wind blows from other points of the compass, the birds are driven away from Capri, and have to

make their landing on some other part of the Bay of Naples. Like all tailless birds, quail fly in a straight line, using one wing higher than the other, as a sail. They seem unable to take a sharp or sudden turn, consequently during the spring flight, (when they are flying low) they often dash themselves against the rocks, and fall down stunned into the sea. The fishermen are on the look out for the disabled birds, and often by cruising round in their small boats, pick up as many as twelve or fifteen in a day. As a rule the spring birds are in poor condition and tasteless, but the autumn flight, having fattened on the rich grain fields of Apulia and Campania, are heavy and in excellent condition.

During the autumn flight (September), the birds fly high, and arrive during the night. Blind quail, placed in boxes on the top of a high pole near the nets, are used to decoy the new arrivals, who gather round, and under their cages. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals has long tried to put a stop to the cruel practice of blinding the decoy birds, but has hitherto been unable to convict, as the mere possession of a blind quail is not by Italian law, sufficient evidence: the owner of the bird must be taken "in flagrante delicto".

In addition to the fixed nets described above, the islanders use a fan-shaped hand net, which is attached to a leather belt worn by the snarer. The net is about 7ft high, and 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft wide at the top. With this net, accompanied by a boy to mark, and a small dog to find the quail, the snarer scales the cliffs and narrow ravines of the rocky coast. As soon as a bird is

flushed, he spreads out his net to its fullest capacity, and directs it toward the quail on the wing. Should the bird strike the net, he gives it a dexterous turn, enclosing the bird in its meshes. The little dogs that accompany the fan-net man are half-starved clever little mongrels, of no particular breed, but of wonderful intelligence and endurance. They seem to be tireless, and work all day under the fierce rays of the sun without water, and with only a small piece of black biscuit to eat. Many a poor fellow has lost his life in this dangerous and precarious sport, for, turning suddenly with the large unwieldy net, he loses his balance, and is hurled down a thousand feet of gagged precipice.

Quail are very prolific, often breeding three times in a year: the broods average fifteen young birds. A friend of mine, who is an ardent quail shooter and has lived all his life in Capri, tells me that he has often taken the seeds of rare exotic plants from the crops of quail, that he has shot. These seeds he has subsequently planted, and has showed me the flowering plants, which boast so curious a pedigree. The birds never stay more than one day, and part of the night on the island, and in only a few instances during the last century, have they been known to breed on our shores.

Poaching is carried on at night by means of a small scoop net, very similar to a butterfly net, and a dark lantern. The birds blinded by the light, remain perfectly still, and so are easily captured. Poaching with a light is prohibited by law, but easily evaded, as the small police force in Capri is quite inadequate for this purpose.

Perhaps one other curiosity of natural history is worth recording. From time immemorial, a pair of falcons has occupied each of the principal headlands of Capri, the remarkable point being that the original number, (as of Noah's Ark), has always been maintained. As is well known the falcon is the natural foe and destroyer of the quail. The falcons do not patiently await the arrival of the quail on shore, but go a long way out to sea to meet them. They then turn and follow them, strike them with one lightning blow, and by a second swift swoop catch them in their talons, before they strike the sea. These Capri falcons may be seen teaching the young idea how to strike, and kill their quarry. As soon however, as they have learnt their lesson, and become self-supporting, they give their progeny their " marching orders ", and forcibly drive them off to the mainland. That then, is the reason, why the original number of falcons for each headland is ever the same.

Though the quail are far less numerous than they used to be, a pair of live birds are still worth in September from 3d to 6d, and the increased facilities for rapid transport by rail and sea, enable the birds to be delivered in good condition in the Paris market, so that several thousand lire are made every year by the quail netters in Capri.

CHAPTER IV

Some Capri flowers, and where they grow.

This chapter has been specially written for the Book of Capri by Mrs. Longworth Knocker ("Gratiana Chanter"), author of "Witch of Withyford", "The Rainbow Garden" etc.

To all true lovers of flowers, the island of Capri is a veritable Garden of Eden. When once the Spring sets foot upon her lovely shores, the flowers spring up as if by magic. Turn where you may, there are flowers. Flowers everywhere! You cannot wander any distance of the rocky paths without treading under foot some lovely gem, for they literally grow so luxuriantly as to spread a carpet for your feet. It seems as if Flora in her dance over the island, had emptied her apron all at once, so enamoured has she become of beautiful Capri.

Now I do not for one moment presume to speak to the scientific botanist, for alas! I am no botanist myself, and therefore in no way qualified so to do, though to them, I know truly, Capri ranks high, if merely for the quantity and variety of flowers to be found there. So it is, that I can talk alone to those few, or many, who love flowers just because they are flowers, those

who will wander all day long happy in the mere gathering of them, seeking them in their special haunts, drinking in at the same time the beauty of their surroundings, carrying home their treasures after a long tiring day, and however travel-worn and weary they may feel, dropping their flowers lovingly and comfortably into the water-jug, before they have given a thought to rest themselves. To these I would say, linger long enough in Capri to see the myrtle blossoming against the emerald and turquoise sea, the Bay of Naples spread out before you, Vesuvius far away, seemingly uplifted, wrapped about in a mystic majestic garment of gold and rose-coloured haze, and with the scents of the myrtle around, you will realize a dream exceeding in beauty all dreams you have ever dreamed.

It was Christmas Eve when I gathered my first Capri flowers. I had come out to search for evergreens, (holly if possible), to decorate our little room at the Paradiso, to make it look a little bit like home, for it was our first Christmas out of England. But holly I did not find, so contented myself with a generous bundle of rich green myrtle and rosemary branches, which as I held them closely to me on our home-ward way gave out its sweet aromatic scents, saying so plainly, "Remember you are in Southern Italy, and not in England", and many a time I repeated those words that evening, as I filled the quaint Calabrian pots full of narcissus, and wreathed my room with the rich sweet scented foliage. Fancy decorating ones room with rosemary and myrtle at Christmas-tide! "È vero: we are in Italy". "But" I think I can hear you say, "a whole faggot of myrtle would not be the same to me

as one sprig of holly ". Ah ! the old associations, how they cling ! But we " cannot eat our cake and keep it too ". If we are wise we will take the goods the gods provide, and in Capri they are more than generous. I do not think that dear old England , as yet, has been able to manufacture quite the same article, and owing to sundry natural causes, I doubt if she ever will. So it will be just as well to content ourselves with rosemary and myrtle in the present, with the hope of once more embracing our beloved prickly holly in the future.

In the months of January and February the narcissus are at their best. You take the path from Anacapri which winds downwards through the olive groves to the tower of Damaceuta, and just where the path emerges from between the loose limestone walls on to the edge of the cliff, pause a moment and look below. Yes, it is undoubtedly very steep, but looks much steeper than it is, and shod in Capri shoes one can do wonders. Descend cautiously the uneven steps, which lead to the tiny gardens terraced out of the cliff, then find your wary way downwards through heath and coronilla, and lo ! you are in the middle of the narcissus, and soon (if you are as greedy of these beauties as I am), will have gathered a bunch which you can scarcely hold in both your hands. You will spend many a happy day amongst the narcissus, for they linger long in Capri, even from Christmas time till the end of March. Early where the sun shines, and later in the cool shadows of the cliffs.

Every English country child knows the delight of finding the first primrose. Aye, and every English

country man or woman feels something of the spring-time of their youth come back to them, when they go " a-primrosing ". But alas! the primrose does not bloom in Capri. Once upon a time it did, for seven years ago I had one brought me as a great treasure, by some one who knew the island well. But it is no longer to be found. Its sweet hiding-place has been discovered, and thoughtless, ruthless hands have dug up and destroyed the last primrose of Capri! So it is no more. But towards the end of January you will find something else, something which you remember hunting for in the fresh breezy days of your boyhood, with almost equal delight. That is the first sweet violet. There is a little wood at the beginning of the Anacapri road, upon the Capri side, with terraced vineyards above it, climbing right up the steep mountain side to the very foot of the great limestone crags towering above. Turn up through this wood, step over the path which cuts right across, and find the easiest way into the nearest vineyard, search carefully among the long grass under the high walls, which support the gardens above, and there, hiding its modest head as well as it may, from the keenest edge of the " tramontana ", you will find the first violet. Indeed in a few weeks time, when the southern sun grows warmer, you will gather generous bunches of these same sweet flowers, not only there, but in many other places. I remember finding some particularly large and deep-coloured violets on the way down to the old battery, Lo Capo end of the island, almost as fine and deep in colour, as the great russian violet of our gardens. They are well worth seeking for.

The dog-violet grows everywhere. Beautiful in form, delicate in colour, but personally I always think him somewhat of a fraud, with no right whatsoever to the name of violet, so long as he remains without a scent. But nevertheless he is a flower, and a charming one, also one of the first, so must not be altogether despised.

It is also in the little "bosco" at the beginning of the road to Anacapri, that you will find the first crocus, forcing its slender head up through the dead oak leaves, and winter grasses. When closed, it is a soft buff colour, but when open, a delicate lilac. Pluck it tenderly for its stem is so fragile it will break most easily in the handling. As the month goes on, not only in this "bosco" will you find the crocus growing, but everywhere, for these are some of the flowers wherewith Flora has woven her carpet. These and the anemones: I think if it be possible to make any choice at all, that the crocus and anemone are amongst some of the most beautiful of the Capri flowers. Spend an afternoon in "Gasto" wood at the beginning of April, or even at the end of March, for each day brings forth fresh wonders. There you will find the crocus starring the earth, wide open to the sun, with anemones in all their beauty. But do not fill your hands too full, you have yet to climb up amongst the boles of the chesnut trees, to hunt for cyclamen amongst the fallen leaves. Ah, there they are! Little rosy gems doing their best to hide themselves from all observers. You must not pick the cyclamen, but pull him, as you would a lily of the valley. Place them amongst your crocus and anemones, and see how the colours blend, violet, pink

and rose-colour, and behold! what a bouquet you have gathered! Later go to the same wood when the golden broom and coronilla are in bloom: just to see the trick which Flora has played to plant it so against the blue of the Capri sea. When your eyes are fairly dazzled with gazing at so much beauty, drop down into the cool shades of the lemon groves below, and look for the fragile blue anemone apennina, which grows luxuriantly beneath their shade. Why they have favoured this one particular lemon grove, who can say? But that they grow nowhere else in Capri I believe is well assured.

Now there is another walk you must take in the month of April, and that is to the breezy hill of the Semaphore, in search of orchids. You must not keep to the path, but turn off the beaten track, for it is always there, as in life, that one is likely to stumble on the most interesting things. Keep to the eastern side of the hill, and wind your way amongst the tall white asphodel spires, and sweeps of golden broom, not permitting their beauty to distract you. Think only and entirely of what you have come to seek, for the colouring of the bee orchids especially, blends so curiously with its surroundings, that it is a necessity to have all your wits about you, also a very sharp pair of eyes to discover it at all. I have before me now a bunch of these same fairy-like flowers, their waxen wings outspread, as if each little floweret were ready to take flight and soar away. Pale pink or pure white are their wings, all veined with apple green. Their rich soft downy bodies clothed in velvety brown, or merging as only an orchid can, into subtle browns

and greens. The delicate stem, which alone keeps these winged things to earth, is a joy in itself. One feels that if it had been one whit less beautiful, they would never have been content to stay. One of these gems alone would be reward enough for a whole day's wander. But no need to be content with one. Keep your eyes open, and as I have said before, your wits about you, (partly because the Semaphore hill is not a " Strada Carrozzabile "), and if you have the eye of a true flower-hunter, in an hour you will have gathered a bunch of these lovely imprisoned winged things, which will be a delight to you for a whole week to come. Put them in water and watch them as they develop then I think you will go again to the Semaphore hill.

Yes, you will most assuredly go again to the Semaphore hill, if not to hunt for orchids, just to spend a quiet hour amongst the asphodels whose beauty you found it an absolute necessity to ignore the other day, causing you, as they did, to crush beneath your feet one of the most perfect specimens of the flower you had come to seek. Well, now you may pick out the most comfortable limestone rock you can find, and give yourself up entirely to the glamour of the asphodels. " Ah, " you will say at length, " no wonder the Greeks chose them for their national flower ". You are amongst a miniature forest of silver spires topped with soft rosey pink. You have seen the snowy Alpine peaks with just such a sheen and glow upon them. Now look beyond, or rather between their rich warm stems, how the sapphire sea flashes and dances below, then beyond again, where the islands of the

Sirens seem afloat upon the bay wrapped in an opal haze, then the purple coast, then Calabria, until your eyes rest at length upon the silvered peaks of the snow-capped Apennines. And the asphodels: there they stand all around you, slowly waving to and fro in the breath of the southern breeze. What a foreground to the classic scene before you! How they cling about the old ruins of the gods! The gods are dead, but the asphodel still lives. Ah, so you will rest awhile and dream of the fields Elysian, and maybe of the great dead, whom these same flowers inspired to sing of their beauty.

But if, after your meditations, your enthusiasm carries you so far as to gather a bunch of these same classic beauties to take home with you, I would say as Punch once said "To those about to marry. Don't". Most emphatically don't. I have a strong suspicion you will take no heed whatever to my advice, anymore than the rest of the world have hitherto taken that of Mr. Punch on the subject of matrimony; so you will gather your asphodels all the same, with long stalks and a plentiful supply of graceful leaves, and you will place them in your tallest pot in the very centre of your mantelpiece, (always if possible choose a room with a mantelpiece), then you will rest on your sofa and admire them. "How lovely they are," you say, "what can there possibly be against them?" So it is that you will settle yourself comfortably into your book, now and again glancing up at your flowers, or maybe at the fire of olive wood burning upon the hearth. How cosy it is! How lovely the flowers look in the light of the lamp! How they turn this simple bare room into

a veritable bower! So musing, you bury yourself again in your book, allowing the soothing influence of the wood fire to creep over you. It is then, just at the moment when you are most comfortable and cosy, that you gradually become aware that there is something in the room, something which annoys you, indeed it greatly disturbs you. "Good gracious" you exclaim, "What an awful—What on earth can it be?" You arise from your comfortable corner in an extremely irritated condition, and follow that sensitive organ, your nose, round the room on a voyage of discovery. No, there is absolutely nothing in the room that could possibly account for it. Then if not in the room it must be out of it. Dare you open the window! Yes, at all risks you must find out from whence it comes. You turn the latch, and cautiously pull the window towards you: in rushes the cool night breeze from the sea. Oh how delicious! No, it is certainly not from without, then it *must* be within. Again you make a voyage round your chamber, until at length you come to a halt in front of your lovely mantel-piece. Yes, it is most certainly here. Who is it? What can it be? You insert your nose first into the violets, then into the cyclamen, then into the anemones, orchids, lithospermum, lastly into the great pot of golden broom and coronilla. No! it is none of these, they are absolutely free of any offence. You gaze upwards to the asphodels, where their starry eyes look down upon you from the heights above. Can it be possible! You place your feet upon the fender, and reach the lowest star. Oh! how appalling! and "hey presto" Calabrian pot and all are hurled outside, and the window tightly

locked upon them. No! you cannot interfere lightly with those whom the gods have loved, nor is it always wise to neglect the advice of Mr. Punch.

There is a knoll partly grass, and partly rock on the way to Damaceuta where you would like to go. It lies on your right, where the pathway turns a corner not far below Anacapri. Climb over the wall and take a short cut across, until you again meet the pathway below. It is my favourite place for anemones, for their colours seem to vary there, in a way they do nowhere else. It was also there, one day in the beginning of May, that I came across what I at first thought to be a gigantic flight of blue butterflies. Cautiously I approached them, for, I feared as my shadow fell, they would fly away into space, before I could get a good look at them, but I was right amongst them, and they took no notice of me whatever. Then it was that I discovered they were no butterflies at all, but quantities of the most lovely little blue iris I had ever seen, so delicate their stems, that a little distance off, they seemed scarcely alight upon the grasses. I hope you may find these iris, and enjoy them as much as I did, they are worth a considerable hunt, I assure you.

There are long delightful days to be spent on Monte Solaro, where flowers grow, which are to be found nowhere else on the island. There is another day to be spent, or many, most certainly many, on the lovely way to the Lighthouse. There you will see the rosemary and cistus at their best. There, later on you may lie, and dream amidst the myrtle and arbutus bowers. It is on that same pathway too, you will see at their

best the cornfields under the olives ablaze with poppies , cornflowers , and marigolds. It is also in these cornfields, that you will find the tall rose-coloured gladioli, and large purple anemone.

But it is not possible in so small a space to enumerate one half, or one quarter, of the flowers to be found on the way to the Lighthouse , and still more impossible to speak of all those which deck the island. Of the deep blue drapery of the lithospermum, of the clustering bells of the campanula, hanging amidst the great limestone towers, of the sunshine of the sparges. No, it is impossible. The subject is endless, for each one deserves a chapter to themselves. So I will say finally to help you, buy Dr. I. Cerio's most excellent book, " Flora dell'Isola di Capri " published by Emilio Prass of Naples, for in it he gives you every flower which blooms upon the island , with their Latin , and often their English, French, and German names. Also in many cases, where they are to be found. With this if you read, mark , and learn, and with your own instinct , love , and knowledge , your pleasures will be unlimited and lasting.

So may you linger long in Capri , and be happy amongst its flowers,

CHAPTER V.

Festival of San Costanzo — An Island Carnival. ¹

" Paganisme immortel, es tu mort? On le dit
Mais Pan, tout bas, s' en moque et la Sirene en rit ".

" What mean these flower-strewn lanes, these banners gay,
These blue-veiled maidens in this fair attire,
These gossips come to see and to admire,
These ruddy youths, who make such brave display,

A long procession files in slow array,
Aloft, a silver image gleams like fire,
Borne shoulder-high, amid a white-robed choir,
The patron saint moves on his festal way.

Great Pan is dead? Ah, No! he lives. 'Tis we
Blind with the scales of centuries on our eyes,
Have lost belief and thus the power to see.

These humble folk, in their simplicity,
Perceive the glory which around them lies
And commune with their Gods perpetually ".

ELLINGHAM BROOKS.

¹ The greater part of this Chapter appeared in " The Gentlewoman " of Oct. 24th 1903, and is reprinted here by the kind permission of the Editor of that paper.

The island of Capri is best known to the world in general as the quondam retreat of the Emperor Tiberius, a much maligned and misunderstood old gentleman, who, according to popular report and local gossip, at the advanced age of seventy is credited with having committed untold naughtiness. We are also celebrated in a more reputable way, for our Blue Grotto, which is indeed extremely blue during the long hot days of July and August, when nobody sees it except a stray fisherman or itinerant painter, but is not half as blue as it is painted under the cold, inclement skies of February and March, when the unfortunate tourists, after a rough crossing, are precipitated into the cockle-shell boats, which await the arrival of the steamer, and told to admire its beauties.

Our shady Emperor and our Blue Grotto are known to all men, and are, in a measure, our excuse for existence. But the reader of average intelligence is probably not aware, that as we are associated with a special sinner, so we are under the protection of a very particular Saint. Every town and parish (paese) in Italy, has its own particular patron saint. Our Saint is "San Costanzo" and like many another saint and sinner, has a very remarkable private history. He was at one time Bishop of Constantinople, but having made himself unpopular was murdered, and his remains being placed in a large cask, were flung surreptitiously into the Bosphorus, and the murderers thought they had heard the last of the good Bishop. But this was not to be. The remains of this excellent, but unappreciated Bishop were taken in charge by the proverbially fickle winds and waves, which after due consideration, agreed

to convey him, " franco di posto, " to the shores of Capri, where they knew that the Saint would be received with welcome and hospitality. After a somewhat long and stormy voyage, the cask reached the Grande Marina, where it was discovered by a young fisherman, who promptly informed the priest of the arrival of the sainted voyageur, and whatever was left of him was given decent and honourable sepulture.

Others may date all events of importance from the Ides of March, from Old Lady Day, or New Lady Day, from the Hjira, from Washington's birthday, or Declaration Day. We in Capri, " set our house in order " for our annual Festa of San Costanzo. For weeks prior to the great event the houses and street arcades are freshly whiteswashed, the churches are cleaned inside and out, and glow resplendent in paint and shining gold. Woe! to the Capri maiden, who on that auspicious day does not succeed in providing herself with a new gown, and still more Woe! to the sweetheart, who does not help in the providing, for assuredly he may pay in his " amorous chips ", and expect to be discarded forthwith, " without benefit of clergy ", in favour of some other swain, who better understands his obligations.

Our Festa of San Costanzo takes place on May 14th, a most charming season of the year, for spring has but newly visited us, the air is warm and balmy, and loaded with the scent of the orange, and the lemon, the sky is a serene and placid blue, but without the passion of late summer, and the landscape has not that wearied look, exhausted, as it were, by the constant warm devotion of the Sun, which seems to prevail at

the end of August, when Nature waits anxiously for the hoped-for baptism of autumn rain.

Eight days (the "octave",) previous to the Festa, the benighted stranger in Capri will be aroused from his slumbers at 4 o' clock in the morning by the most furious cannonade, of what appears to his half-awakened sense, heavy artillery. He will spring up horrified, and hurry to the window, expecting to see the indistinct forms of ironclads, looming up in the misty half light. The sea appears calm, placid, and peaceful: still the roar of the artillery continues. Each discharge seems louder: the boom is tossed from hill to hill. Evidently the gunners are warming to their work. At last with one terrific blast the climax is reached, the echoes die reluctantly away, and again a perfect calm settles down on the quiet island, while a cloud of smoke rolls down the wind. The benighted stranger with beating heart returns to bed, and possibly to sleep, to learn later in the day that this is the Capri manner of ushering in with due decorum the "octave" of the Festa of their patron saint.

Here it is well to note that San Costanzo is as exacting as a modern potentate. If from motives of economy, or spiritual lukewarmness on the part of his humble subjects, he is deprived of a tittle of his ceremonial rights, he will show his resentment and annoyance by sending on the penurious islanders rain and wind, that will drown and lay low their vines, and if their shortcomings are very marked, he may even visited them with the much-dreaded blight, which in Capri spells ruin.

Solemn mass is held at 9^o clock in the morning on the great day itself, and the church of San Stefano is packed to its fullest capacity with throngs of the devout, and observant groups of critical, sharp-eyed tourists — alas! how seldom in sympathy with the charm of the scene, and the touching lesson of faith to be learned from these simple peasants! Mass ends: then, with loud clangour of not discordant bells slowly issue from the church, with downcast eye and measured pace, two by two, " the maidens of Mary " — " Figlie di Maria " — robed all in white, save for the blue veil reaching below the waist, which scarce conceals the glory of luxuriant locks, ranging from raven black to auburn red. With deliberate step they descend the broad cathedral steps, pressing the perfume from a dainty carpet, formed of scented rose leaves, and the vivid yellow petal of the broom. Softly they tread twixt rows of worshippers, the men bare-headed, and the girls on bended knee, their leaders tiny tottering babes of three or four, who sway and cling together, as they walk. To be permitted to bear the badge of Mary's daughters is a high honour to the budding motherhood of Capri girls, and Woe! to the maiden, should the sharp-eyed Parroco detect her in unlicensed kiss, or pressure of the hand, or even in the less dread sin of " occhio di pesce " (making eyes), for surely and without appeal she will forfeit for a time at least the blue ribbon, (not that of the Turf,) which is sign of highest chastity, and magnet to the wife-seeking bachelor.

Next in the train, contrast and balance to the preceding visions of undeveloped loveliness, march two by two the sturdy manhood of the town, Brothers of

Saint Filippo Neri, mostly men of middle life, some verging to gnarled old age. Hardy fishermen are here, with faces tanned by frequent contact with the baffling gales, and patient tillers of the soil, laborious "contadinas", their backs bowed by frequent study of the vine, nut-brown their faces, but with less of daring, more endurance in their gaze. All these are clad in gowns of white, and carry in their hands huge candles. Behind them march the elders of the brotherhood, distinguished by rich hoods of gold and black, emblazoned on their breast a bleeding heart. And all the while the bells clang their loudest and their gayest from neighbouring belfry, the ungrudging sun gilds the scene with his staunch allegiance, and a constant rain of scented petals of the rose and broom flutter down from terrace and from roof, alighting softly, and with equal willingness, on the curly head of childhood, and the scanty grizzled locks of age. The patron Saint himself, the climax and the zenith of the scene will soon appear, and by his rare presence dazzle alike the eye of sceptic and devout. But first we see a score of bright-faced acolytes, swinging their silver censers right and left: to them succeed a phalanx of portly priests, gorgeous in rare old lace, and robes of purple, red, and violet, chanting with might and main appropriate paeans to their saintly patron. Then, borne aloft by four well-practised athletes, behold! the saint himself, a noble figure formed of beaten silver, vested in pontifical robes. In his left hand he holds a staff, and book with two metallic bambini: with his right hand he bestows on all around the benediction — sure presage of a prosperous year to come. Today upon his silver coun-

tenance there seems to lurk a smile of self-content, for all goes well, the sun is bright, the faithful have been liberal in their gifts, new banners flutter in his honour, a band from Naples has arrived to "do him proud", and their strains fall gratefully upon his complacent silver ears.

Close behind the saint a canopy of white and scarlet silk is borne. Beneath its shade majestically paces, second only to the saint himself, Monsignor the Bishop of Sorrento, supported by our worthy Sindaco, his massive middle cinctured with a broad sash of red and green and white, a noble field his country's colours to display.

When the saint reaches the Piazza, he is greeted by a rattle of platoon firing: the flame rushes from roof to roof: dreadful the noise, blinding the smoke. The riflemen fire wildly, and scarce take aim, while from the park (villa) below, salvoes of heavy guns follow each other crescendo. Now the procession amid much smoke and roar, the swaying of the saint, the chanting of the priests, and clangour of church bells, slowly wends its way down the Marina steps, to consign the saint in safety in the old basilica, which bears his name.

To us, who watch from shady vantage ground, this is perhaps the memory that lingers with us longest, when the horizon of our vision may be bounded by chimney-pots, or saffron fog clouds. Surely some giant spinner has thought fit to weave and wind along the curving snowy road a ribbon, broad and long, the colours blended with harmonious skill, of white and every shade of blue, that colour-experts can discrimi-

nate. So down the white smooth road winds this colour-scheme, amidst the distant chanting of the attendant priests, and rolling clouds of fleecy smoke.

At night the middle of the Piazza is the scene of a most excellent and creditable display of fireworks, all made on the spot by the local genius, the official "fuocista" of the island, in appearance rather like Guy Fawkes. There are a number of set pieces, and a liberal discharge of rockets and fire balloons. Although the space available in the Piazza is extremely limited, no accident ever occurs. The people sit undisturbed at the little marble-topped tables, eating their ices, sipping their vermouth, and inhaling their "tuscani", amid a shower of sparks from the fireworks exploding a couple of yards away: but nobody is ever hurt, though there is a legend that once an old "forestiere" lady had the misfortune to have her wig burned!

And we who know and love these simple graceful kindly folk, so full of faith, so prone to joy and cheerfulness, so sensitive to brilliancy of colour and harmony of sound, we learn in time to reverence and respect their colour-schemes, which, while they keep alive their faith, provide happy sinless holidays, untainted by sordid grossness and untouched by licence.

CHAPTER VI

Exploration of Blue Grotto by Kopisch and Pagano.

(Written by Mrs. Wolffsohn)

Far back in the Twenties of Victoria's reign when the island was uncrowded by world-trotters; when its maidens married the fisherfolk, and never thought of running after foreign artists and wandering "my lords", there was rediscovered the now famous grotto, whose existence was indeed known, but whose character was uncanny; for legend hung about the gloomy cave, and the fisherman, as he rapidly rowed past the minute opening in the mighty cliff, shuddered as he gazed, half expecting to see some fearful monster issue forth.

It was in the summer of 1826 that an Austrian artist, Mr. August Kopisch, arrived with his friend Ernest Fries, at Capri. The travellers took up their abode in the small white-washed Inn kept by Don Giuseppe Pagano, the town notary, and ancestor of the present family of that name. In the course of conversation between the travellers and their host, their curiosity was aroused by hearing, that one of the numerous caverns in the island was said to be haunted by evil spirits;

that years ago two priests decided to venture in and exorcise these demons, and actually swam a little way into the grotto, but seized with fear they hastily made their exit, and no one since then had braved its terrors. Some years ago a fisherman was busy close to the cliff; the morning was so fine and still, that he could see the stones and shells and seaweed fifty feet below, at the bottom of the water. All at once a shoal of fish that had been* playing in the transparent waves darted away, leaving one which began to swim round and round rising higher and higher, untill it seemed as big as a man. The fisherman poised his harpoon as the fish rose, while its body kept changing from red to green, and its eyes flashing green and red. Never had the fisherman seen such a creature and he began to be alarmed, but instead of breathing a prayer, he threw his harpoon at the fish "in the devil's name". The harpoon struck the fish in the neck and the sea was immediately so stained with blood, that nothing could be distinguished. Feeling the line attached to the harpoon grow slack, the fisherman believed the fish was dead. He drew it up, and, lo, the harpoon came out of the water without its prey, the iron handle looking as if it had been melted by fire. In a panic the fisherman seized his oars and endeavored to escape, but his boat only turned round and round, as the fish had done. At last the boat stood still, and out of the waves rose a bleeding man, with the prong of the harpoon still sticking in his neck. He shook his fist at the fisherman, who sank fainting into the bottom of the boat, which eventually drifted ashore at the Grande Marina. For days the poor man lay speechless, but

on the fourth day he recovered, and related his adventure. But now a curious thing happened. His right hand began to wither like a dead leaf, then his arm and next all his other limbs. Last of all his head and body shrank, and he died. His corpse did not look like that of a man; but a dried root in an apothecary's shop. Other legends of the grotto were related; that fire and smoke had been seen issuing from the entrance; that creatures like crocodiles crept in and out; that every day the opening expanded and contracted seven times; that at night the Sirens sang sweetly in the grotto; that cries like those of infants were heard mingled with moans and groans. Others related, how young fishermen who had ventured near the entrance had disappeared, and never been seen again; and that the grotto was full of human bones!

In spite of all these horrors, the two foreigners, Don Giuseppe and his boy of twelve years old, started on an expedition to explore the grotto. Two large tubs, a basket of provisions, a caldron of pitch, a lantern, some buckets, ropes and other things were packed into a boat, while the adventurers, their number increased by Angelo Ferraro, an experienced old fisherman, with a face the colour of cinnamon, and a donkey driver, named Michele Federico, embarked in a large boat and towed the other after them. As they rowed past the gigantic cliffs, the two foreigners began to take off their clothing. The party grew silent, as they neared the grotto, where the oars were unshipped and the boats lay still. In and out of the narrow opening ebbed and flowed the sapphire water. Don Giuseppe Pagano had grown very pensive. Mr. Kopisch ordered Angelo to

kindle the pitch, and soon it boiled and flamed merrily. Meanwhile Don Giuseppe had reluctantly removed his clothing, and now stood hesitating on the side of the boat, but Mr. Kopisch gave him a push, and over he went in the water, to rise the next moment puffing and blowing. After him jumped the two strangers, and Angelo entered one of the tubs and pushing the other, in which he had placed the pitch caldron before him, he paddled towards the grotto. Soon he was in the narrow archway, hauling himself along by the walls. The smoke from the boiling pitch nearly blinded the swimmers who followed, and on entering the cave they could distinguish nothing but fire and smoke, where Angelo was feeling his way along the sides. By and by Mr. Kopisch discerned the figures of Don Giuseppe and his friend Ernst Fries, who were turning back. They seemed to be enveloped in blue flames, and he himself felt as though he were swimming in an infinite blue sky. He called to his friends. "Come back! come back! were there nothing in this grotto but this divine water, it would still be a wonder of the world! Come back, I say. Here are neither demons nor sharks, but a beauty of color that cannot be equalled!"

Angelo, with his caldron, presently reached the back of the grotto where a landing-place was found. The cave at that point seemed to penetrate the mountain; "This must be the secret passage of Tiberius!" exclaimed Don Giuseppe. Mr. Kopisch took the lighted lantern from Angelo, and went forward. Stalactites hung from the roof, and at every step the rocks changed their form. All at once Kopisch started. He had seen a skeleton! But it proved to be only a white

stalactite. Suddenly he saw his own shadow at his side. He turned and saw a small opening in the rock through which shone the light from the entrance of the large grotto. He called to his companions that he had found traces of human handiwork, and they climbed after him. From the little opening the view was magnificent. A great deep basin, vaulted by a lofty roof studded with stalactites, walled by fantastic rocks; paved with a blue liquid sky, the blue light of which, was reflected on the roof. Along the deep red border deposited by innumerable marine animals on the rocks at the sea level, the ripples broke and sparkled in the colors of a million jewels, only through the narrow entrance a band of light, trembled like moonlight, on the surface of the water, and from below rose the indescribable blue reflections. Enchanted with all they saw, the strangers swam to the boats to fetch drawing materials, and returning seated themselves at the little crevice, and held the lantern for each other, while accomplishing two sketches of the scene.

Then Don Giuseppe swam out of the grotto, and perceived the proprietor of this part of the island, standing on a point of rock, gazing at them with open mouth. He had heard the shouting, and had climbed down the precipice like a goat, to a point of rock, and now called to the notary to ask the cause of the outcry. "The Devil is in the grotto", shouted Don Giuseppe, as he swam to the boats. "Go in yourself and see what kind of fellow he is!", he shouted again, as he drew on his shirt. The astonished proprietor took courage, plunged into the sea, and swam into the grotto. He was still more astonished when he

perceived the foreigners. "How did *you* dare?" he cried. "I was born here; the property belongs to me, yet never would I have ventured in had some one not entered before me. You foreigners must have hearts of stone and iron!" he cried. The sketches were finished; Mr. Kopisch took the lantern, and the whole party proceeded to explore the place thoroughly, turning first to the left through a labyrinth of passages. This portion of the grotto had also an opening into the larger one. Retracing their steps, the explorers proceeded to the right, and found another small passage, in which was a heap of masonry. "This must contain a heap of treasure, and it is *mine*!" cried the proprietor, and threw himself upon it, but there was nothing. Mr. Kopisch observed, that when he happened to hold the lantern low down, it burned badly. "This is uncanny", remarked the proprietor, "let us go back". It is only foul air, said Kopisch, and he pointed to a white mist, hovering on the ground. The Capresi called to Kopisch to return, and set the example. But all were rather alarmed, when they found they had lost their way. They were in a far wider passage than that by which they had come. Placing a heap of loose stones, to mark the place Kopisch urged the others to explore this new passage; but suddenly the light in the lantern went out, and left them in total darkness. "We shall starve here", cried Ernst Fries, "we shall never find the way out!" and the others began to mutter prayers. Kopisch, feeling himself responsible for the safety of the party, begged them to keep calm. One of them must stand still, while the others tried to find the way, keeping

in touch by calling to each other continually. They had decided upon this, when all at once a howl, like that of a wild beast, reached their ears. "Thank the Madonna! That is Angelo's voice", cried Michele, "He is really an Angel", laughed Kopisch, "he is not far off, we shall certainly find him". And so they did. They followed the sound of the voices, and soon reached the place, whence they had taken the sketches.

After the intense darkness in which they had been, the wonder of the grotto seemed doubly beautiful, and they all greeted Angelo, who was paddling around in his tub, with shouts of "Eviva"! He had been anxious, and thought they had met with an accident. The foreigner plunged with joy into the liquid azure, the surface of which was slightly agitated, for a fresh breeze had sprung up outside. Angelo urged the party to leave at once, if they wanted to get out. They gathered all their things into the tub and swam out. The Capresi now considered themselves heroes. "How the people in Capri will stare", cried Michele, as he took the oars.

After an adventurous trip, they landed at the Grande Marina, to be received with admiration, and somewhat of awe by the population, who fully believed that they had come from the "house of the Devil". In the private room of Don Giuseppe, the family assembled to congratulate the foreign guests, who, by their adventure had enriched Capri with a wonder and a charm, which, in future years, was to attract to the island an ever-increasing flood of foreign visitors. After supper a grand discussion took place as to what name should be given to the grotto. Don Giuseppe wished it to be

called " The Kopisch Grotto ", after his guest, but finally it was decided to christen it " La Grotta Azzurra ", the " Blue Grotto ", the name which it has ever since born.

The charm of terror, the legend and loneliness have vanished; the grotto often echoes to vulgar sounds, and no one fears to enter it; but the charm of divine color, and of nature in one of its most fantastic as well as loveliest forms, remains to gladden the hearts of men, who come from all over the world to admire the place which has acquired such far-spread fame.

CHAPTER VII

" Capri versus Anacapri "

(Adele Schaefer)

Every body knows Antonio. He sits in a little natural niche, just under the statue of the Madonna, on the road to Anacapri. He is a beggar now, though I don't think he makes much by it. There are two sorts of beggars; the whining beggar and the cheerful beggar, some people are touched by a smiling and hopeful attitude, while others give to the beggar who keeps up a sing-song whine, which is heard a hundred yards away. It is all a matter of taste; " de gustibus non disputandum ", though for my part I like giving of the cheerful ones. But Antonio is one of the other sort; he makes a decidedly determined and brigandish dash at one's carriage, and decides one instantly in favour of the smiling humble old person, who sits a few yards farther on.

But Antonio was an old friend; long before he took up begging as a profession, he alway had the instincts for it, and would invariably manage to get a glass of wine because " he was so hot ", or, " because the day was so cold ", as the case might be, when he brought me down fresh eggs from Anacapri.

But Antonio has had a sad history, so perhaps allowances should be made for him. One day, when his heart had been warmed with a glass of "Capri rosso", and a pipeful of English tobacco, he took me into his confidence, so far as to tell me his history. I had heard it before, but his version threw a new light on the subject. Perhaps he hadn't been so much to blame after all?

He began by telling me that, he had been a "bello giovane". Perhaps he realized that I never should have known it otherwise, or he may have been philosopher enough to have come to the conclusion that, when one is good-looking, lots of things happen to one, which would not occur otherwise.

He is very brown and wrinkled now, but his eyes, though not beautiful, are still very blue. His father had a small vineyard, and he helped to gather the grapes and olives; and when the quails fluttered on to the broom covered hills, after their long flight of three hundred miles, across the sea from Africa, or, when they made the island their first halting place, when they came, fat and plump, after a summer in the north, on their way to the south, Antonio would wander over the mountain in the hope of getting a few to sell to the "foreigners".

In the vineyard next to his father's, there was a charming little maid, as brown as a quail and as plump, who used to chatter and sing as continually as a locust on a hot summer day. Antonio used to talk to her across the low stone wall which divided the vineyards, and once, he brought her a red clove pink and a sprig of "cedra"; she got as red as if the last rays of the

setting sun had shone on her. Antonio saw the wonder, and saw that it was his doing, and was glad, and he soon after asked her to be his "anamorata". Angelina wore the sunsetglow on her smooth brown cheeks nearly all the time after that; there was no need for her and Antonio to wait long before being married. Angelina, like all island girls, had begun before she was ten years old, to spin and weave the flax for her wedding linen, and to crochet the lace, with which to adorn her trousseau.

And so they were married; she and Antonio felt like a king and queen, as they were pelted with wheat, confetti, rose-leaves, and small bronze coins, all the way to the tiny house which they had prepared. Antonio couldn't find words with which to express how happy they were; Angelina was such a good little wife, and so helpful during the vintage. Antonio wishes I could have just seen her, with a bright yellow handkerchief around her neck, and a great basket of purple grapes on her head. She was, in fact, just like a picture! And surely no one ever looked half so pretty, with her black eyes and white teeth flashing out of the gloom of the dark old cellar, where the wine was pressed.

One day the niece of a neighboring vine grower came up from Capri. She was a pretty girl with fair, fair hair, and eyes blue like the sea, only one was a little crooked, not much, but there it was, and she had a limp also. Oh, yes it was a pity, such a beautiful girl! Well! Antonio often met her on the steps, and it was only natural that they should walk together. What would I wish? That he should have run on ahead,

and left her as if he had seen an evil spirit? Not at all, he was too kind to let a poor girl feel her misfortune in that way. But Angelina, ah, she was different! She, thought nothing too bad for a Capri girl, and told Antonio that he was a stupid not to listen to her.

And so it went on; when Angelina found her *earthly* Antonio wouldn't listen to her, she went to the small chapel on the old steps, which is dedicated to the *heavenly* St. Antonio, and gave a candle, and made a prayer to the effect that, her earthly Antonio might be changed. And from the chapel she often used to see him passing by with the Capri girl. At last she got angry with *St Antonio* and *her own* Antonio, and told them both, in nearly the same terms, that it had got to stop. Her black eyes flashed with the wildest jealousy, and the sunset glow used to come and go on her cheek with brilliant flashes.

One day Antonio went to shoot quail on the mountain; if Angelina insisted, he didn't mind showing her that he wasn't at all anxious to haunt the old steps; and Angelina went to cut grass for their cow.

Her sack was only half full, and she had cut all there was near, so she went over to the hill, where the old ruin of Barbarossa's castle shelters the greenest and longest grass. When she got to the ruin, she saw Serafina, *the Capri girl*, sitting in the shade of a wall, knitting. Oh, yes, it was quite plain that she was waiting for some one! Angelina scrambled to the edge of the cliff, and called to her to know who she was waiting for. Serafina, all in a moment, got as angry as possible, and rushed towards Angelina, and insisted

on her speaking more plainly. Angelina told her suspicions, and Serafina rushed at her like a tiger-cat. Antonio wasn't there, he didn't know how the devil arranged it, but his poor little Angelina fell back over the cliff on to the road below, just near the statue of the Madonna,

Poor Angelina! She had a beautiful funeral; all the priests in the parish walked behind her, and all her friends threw rose leaves, confetti and small bronze coins on to the pink coffin, just as they had done on her wedding day. And Serafina? "poveretta!" But she well deserved it! She was taken down to the steamer with a carabinieri on either side, and all the little boys and people ran after her, and threw stones and mud at her, and she went limping down the road, just glancing back with her crooked eye, and declaring she was innocent!

But ~~that~~ was over thirty years ago, and she is still in prison; so she must have been guilty after all.

11

APPENDIX

The following notice, by Prof. Rudolfo Lanciani in his "Notes from Rome", occurs in "The Atheneum" of Feb. 17, 1906 in reference to the recent important and suggestive discovery made by Dr. I. Cerio in Capri.

"It is a known fact that, Augustus, the founder of the Empire, was a palæ-ethnologist, a student of prehistoric remains. The "res vetustae ac raritates notabiles" which he found in the caverns of the island of Capri, are described by Suetonius (Aug. 72) as "bones of giants", that is to say, of fossil monsters, and as "arma heroum", weapons of men living in past ages, which is a tolerably good definition. The researches of Augustus are carried on at the present day by a local physician, to whom we are indebted for the following discovery. At a place adjoining the Eremitaggio, and at the bottom of a deep trench, he has found bones of rhinoceros and other animals, and stone hammers of the roughest make, some of which weigh six pounds. Bones and hammers are buried in a layer of reddish clay—probably the bottom of a lake marsh—which rests on the limestone core of the island, and which is covered in its turn by a volcanic formation of tufa. This find shows the correctness of the statement of Suetonius. Had Augustus discovered ordinary

flint implements belonging to the age of polished stone, the biographer would, as usual, have called them " gemmas ceraunias ", or " lapides fulminis " (lightning stones). By making use, however, of the expression " arma heroum " he distinctly alludes to the special kind of heavy hammers just rediscovered at the Eremitaggio, which belong to the first representatives of the human race who ever set foot in the beautiful island, which was still undergoing the process of geological formation ".

The following is Dr. I. Cerio's statement of the nature and extent of the recent discovery referred to above by Prof. Lanciani :

* The chapter on Geology, written by me for " The Book of Capri " had already been completed, when in the month of September 1905 a new discovery was made in Capri, which is of great geological and palæ-ethnological importance. Although I briefly called attention to this discovery in the note at page 34, some further details may be of interest to the reader. Owing to the enlargement of the Quisisana Hotel, it was necessary to carry out extensive excavations in order to reach the limestone rock, on which were to be laid the foundation walls. Beneath a layer of vegetable-mold, one metre and eighty centimetres in depth, were found the usual volcanic deposits, which are dispersed all over the island: the depth of the latter deposits were about two metres, superimposed on beds of brown-red clay. This red clay derives its colours from a large quantity of oxide of iron contained in it: it is almost pure, and contains neither volcanic matter nor fragments of limestone: it varies in depth from two

to five metres according to the elevation or depression of the underlying limestone rock, upon which it rests. This substance appears to owe its origin to deposits usually found at the bottoms of extensive lakes.

On the surface of this clay soil, and on its upper layers — underneath the pozzolana — were found flint and quartzite implements very roughly formed, but evidently the work of the human hand. Many of these implements were of large dimensions, and oval, or almond shaped, bearing the character of those typical forms found at Chelles, and belonging to the most remote prehistoric period — called *Chelleen*.

Scattered amongst these implements were bones of vast size, being without doubt the skeletons of hippopotami, elephants, rhinoceros, stags, leopards and other mammalia; but alas! so decomposed were the bones, that it was utterly impossible to preserve any of them complete. I succeeded, however, in saving several large teeth, a link of much importance in determining the classification of certain of those species which are known to have existed at the time when Capri formed part of the mainland, and during the paleolithic period. That the existence of primitive man and animals (which have since then migrated to regions further south, or have become extinct in many cases), was coeval during the glacial period in central and southern Europe, is an established fact, and as Lartet says "une verité désormais inattaquable et definitivement acquise à la science".

Nothing of so convincing a character, as these lately discovered teeth and bones, has before come to light in our province of Naples, most likely from the

fact that no accurate research has been made. Therefore, these discoveries on the island of Capri, besides adding another to the many proofs, that the island up to a very recent geological period, joined the mainland, also add the interesting suggestion that, primitive man watched the disintegration of an extensive continent: saw it almost disappear: saw the terrible conflagration, that scorched the Phlegrean regions: witnessed the upheaval of Ischia, and the phenomenon of a country saved by the invasion of the waters of the Mediterranean, which was covered by deep layers of volcanic material, which destroyed all life and vegetation then existing.

I will add that, at about twenty metres from the place where the excavations were recently made, there are extensive and imposing remains of Roman buildings: they seem to extend all along the Via Tragara; I have scarcely any doubt that, it was during the time of the digging of the original foundations of those early buildings that, were found just such huge bones — and stone implements, called " bones of giants' and " weapons of heroes ", which Suetonius records that " Augustus liked to collect ". A hint for us of the first reference to a Museum of natural curiosities existing in Capri " ?

INDEX

- Acarnania, 18.
Acropolis, 90.
Addison, Joseph, 179, 242.
Agrippina, 77, 79, 83.
Aiano, 205, 206, 245.
Airaghi, 30.
Alfonso I, 96.
 — II, 97.
Altar, 128, 129, 156.
Alvino, 5, 140, 144.
Amalfi, 1, 91, 92, 93.
Anacapri, 4, 5, 13, 16, 30, 31, 97, 102, 103, 131, 135, 136
 193 — 195, 259, 261, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 272.
Andersen, Hans, 220
Anemone, 295, 300.
Antonia, 78.
Ausonius, 19.
Apollonius Rhodius, 18.
Appian way, 141.
Apragopolis, 22, 183.
Acquaviva, 3.
Acqueduct, 43, 156, 168, 171, 205.
Arco Naturale, 221.
Arcucci Dr. Gennaro, 223.
Arcucci Giacomo, 95, 187, 248.
Area of C, 2.
Argonautica, 18.

- Asphodels, 296, 297, 298.
Athanasius, 91.
Atripalda, 98.
Astura, 69.
Augustus, 5, 18, 21, 24, 49 — 57, 61, 62, 63, 78, 83, 112,
140, 146, 149, 150, 154, 162, 164, 183, 184, 185, 193,
194, 222.
Bagni di Tiberio, 42, 153 — *See Palazzo a Mare*.
Baldacci, 35.
Barbarossa, Castle, 93, 100.
— Corsair, 98, 99, 248.
— Monte, 2.
Baring-Gould, 55, 56, 61, 62, 63, 65, 71, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79,
80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88
Barometer, 12.
Bas-reliefs, 147, 151, 166, 168, 194, 222, 223.
Baths, 169, 180.
Bernoulli, 87.
Belli Francesco, 121.
— Tommaso, 121.
Bellini, 30, 35, 36.
Bernardo di Sarriano, 94.
“ Bigio antico ”, 118, 121, 156, 196.
Birth rate, 5.
Blæsus, 27.
Blue Grotto, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 207 — 220, 241, 242.
“ Bocca piccola ”, 33.
Bonucci Antonio, 146, 170.
Brick-stamps, 164,
Breadth of C, 1.
Breislak, 29, 216, 237
British Museum, 86, 128, 155, 156, 223.
Broom, 296.
Brooks, Ellingham, 303.

- Buonaparte Joseph, 256.
Bury, 75, 76, 82.
Caius. 72.
Caligula, 21, 24, 69, 70, 71, 83, 84, 89.
Callipides, 61.
Cameo, 168, 169.
" Camerelle ", 172, 177 — 180, 206.
Campanella, 1.
Campo Pisco, 197, 269.
Canale, 17, 96, 145, 189, 190, 191, 251, 281.
Canevaro, 30, 35.
Capaccio, 215, 216.
Capo, lo, 1, 3, 30, 32, 36, 271.
Capo di Monte, 136, 193, 194, 266.
Capreæ, 6, 150
Caprea, 131.
Caprineus, 22.
Caprile, 16.
Capua, 63, 96.
Carrara marble, 116, 117.
Caserta, 205, 246.
Castellammare, 1. 261.
Castiglione, 2, 36, 44, 257, 258, 263, 267.
— Thermæ, 165 — 170.
Castellani, 155.
Cassino, Monte, 90, 245.
Caterola, 31.
Cava, 29.
Census, 4.
Ceramio, 93.
Cerio, Dr. I. 27, 29—48, 117, 137, 152, 157, 162, 164, 169,
170, 196, 200, 223, 225, 230, 238, 239, 301.
Certosa, 95, 101, 102, 185 — 187, 248, 271.
Certosella, la, 177.

Cesina, 32, 258, 267, 269.

— Villa. 170, 191.

Cetrella, S. Maria. 2, 258, 268, 269.

Charicles, 69, 70.

Charles of Anjou. 93, 94.

Charles, Archduke of Austria. 98.

Charles, II, of Spain. 102.

Chevalley de Rivaz. 215, 219, 274.

Chevret, Capt. 256, 257.

Chianese, Leonardo, 253.

Church, Capt. Richard, 136, 258, 259, 261, 262, 263, 265, 266,
267.

“ Cipollino ”, 118, 143, 156, 173, 196, 205, 245.

Cisterns, 131, 139, 143, 157, 159, 180, 186, 202.

Cistus, 300.

Classical Capri, 17—27.

Claudian, 19.

Climate, 9—16, 20.

Cloaca, 43.

Cocceius Nerva, 20, 69.

Coleman, C. C., 173, 196.

Colletta Pietro, 259, 260, 263, 264, 268.

Commodus, 89, 133, 151.

Concrete, 109, 110.

Consular Reports, 2, 4, 7.

Contrada Torre, 131, 245.

Corals, 32.

Coronilla, 296.

Corsairs, 89, 90, 98, 100, 101, 102.

Corsicans, 257, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266.

Costanzo, S. Church of, 132, 145, 205, 245, 246.

— Saint, 147, 248.

— Festa of, 303 — 310.

Crispina, 24, 89, 133, 151.

- Crocus, 295,
Cumæ, 5.
Cuomo, Dr. V, 4, 8, 10, 14, 16.
Curtius Atticus, 20, 69.
Cybele, 155, 222, 223.
Cyclopean wall, 137.
Cyclamen, 295.
D'Aloe Stanislaus, 215.
Damaceuta, 2, 47, 193, 194, 195, 210, 264, 266
De Angelis d'Ossat, 30.
Death rate, 4, 5.
Decrees, royal, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 102
Derivation of name Capri, 5, 6.
De Stefano, 30, 35.
Di Lorenzo, 35,
Dion Cassius, 24, 89, 133, 151.
Domitian, 151.
" Donna-capri ", 97.
Douglass, Norman, 215, 218, 241.
Drusus, 23, 60, 62, 72, 78, 79, 146.
Dubufe, Mons. G. 153, 272
Dumas, 219, 220.
Earth-movements, 39, 40, 44.
Electrical station, 8.
Emmanuele Diversi, 105 .
English occupation of Capri, 255—275.
Eocene period, 33.
Erosion. line of, 40, 41.
Ewers, Dr. Hans Heinz, 277 — 283.
Faraglioni, 40, 41, 161, 162, 183.
Faro, 149—152.
Favorita Palace, 166.
Feola, 29, 137, 146, 147, 149, 152, 156, 157, 163, 164, 169,
170, 171, 172, 173, 179, 181, 184, 190, 191, 193, 194,
195, 196, 199, 216, 222, 223, 229, 230, 237, 239, 243.

- Ferdinand I., 97.
— II., 97.
— IV., 103, 189.
Fern Grotto, *See* Grotta delle Felce.
Ferraro, Angelo, 216, 217, 218, 313, 314, 317.
Festa at Castiglione, 167, 168.
Flint instruments, 38.
Flora of Capri, 105, 222.
" Fontane ", 3.
Fontana, 43, 157.
Fossils, 32.
Francis I, 201.
Frederic of Aragon, 97.
French occupation of Capri, 255—275.
Freytag, 85.
Fries, Ernst, 218, 311, 316.
Gaeta, 98, 101, 141.
Galba, 68.
Gallo Bishop, 197, 247.
Gallo, Duke, 194,
Gamboni, Bishop, 105, 106 .
Gemellus, 69, 71, 84.
" Geographical Journal ", 40.
Geographical Society, Royal, 40.
Geology, 29—48.
Geological Museum, London, 120.
" Giallo antico ", 118, 145, 156, 166, 170, 173, 197, 201,
205, 245, 246, 247, 252.
Giannettasio, N. P., 242.
Gibbon, 91, 92, 93, 94.
Gibellines, 94.
Giraldi Dr. Luigi, 105, 145, 222, 232.
Glaciers, 37, 38, (note).
Gladeoli, 295.

- Governor, civil, 102, 103, 104, 105, 258.
— military, 102, 103, 104, 105.
- Gradella, 1, 272.
- Gradolo, 195.
- Greco, (wind), 12.
- Greeks, 5.
- Greek city of Capri, 131.
- Greek Stairway, 135, 136.
- Gregorovius, 2.
- Gregory the Great, 90.
- Grotto Arsenale, 40, 229 — 232.
— Azzurra, *See* Blue Grotto.
— Castiglione, 229, 233—235.
— dell'Arco, 30, 237, 238.
— della Felce, 238, 239.
— Fern—*See* Grotta della Felce, 34. 38.
— Green, 31.
— of the Madonna, 30.
— Maravigliosa, 277 — 281.
— Mitromania, 25.
— Maria del Soccorso, 281, 282, 283.
— Oscura, 215, 241 - 243.
— Tiberio, 281, 282, 283.
— White, 41, 277.
- Guelphs, 94.
- Günther R. T., 30, 39, 40, 41, 42.
- Haan, 153.
- Hail, 13.
- Hadrava, 4, 103, 104, 135, 145, 151, 152, 155, 156, 159,
161, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 171, 178, 185, 186, 187,
190, 197, 205, 216, 223, 233, 234, 235, 237, 285.
- Hadrian, 51.
- Hamill, Major, 196, 262, 264, 265.
- Hamilton collection, 128, 129, 155, 156.

Hospital for soldiers, 107.

Hotel Continental, 44.

— Grotte Bleue, 89, 132.

— Quisisana, 34, 177.

Hubert, John, 249.

Humidity, 13.

Hydrographic conditions, 3.

Hypatus, 25, 228.

Inscriptions, 25, 26, 132, 152, 170, 190, 228.

Ischia, 1, 11, 18, 35, 37.

Iris, 300.

Isis temple of, 153.

Jerome, T. Spencer, 17—27.

Joanna I., 95, 186.

— II., 96.

Josephus, 20.

Jovis, Villa. *See* Villa Jovis.

Julia, 69, 77, 84.

Julius Caesar, 87.

Julian, 19.

Julia Augusta, 26, 164.

Juvenal, 19.

Καπρος, 6.

Kaprajim, 5,

Kennedy, Lieut Ralston, 277, 278.

Karsten, 30.

Knocker, Mrs Longworth, 291—301,

Kheyrd-ed-din, 98, 99, 100.

Kopisch, August, 215, 218, 242, 311, 313, 314, 316, 317.

“ Lacerti ”, 172, 177.

Ladislaus, 95.

Lamarque, General, 196, 261, 270, 271, 273, 274, 275.

Land—level, 40.

Lane—Poole, 99, 100.

- Lanciani, Prof., 111, 121, 124—127, 164.
Lapilli, 31, 37.
Lapislazuli, 147, 197, 253.
Lead pipes, 43, 143, 151, 168, 169, 200, 205.
Length of Capri, 1.
Libeccio (wind), 12.
Lighthouse, 19, 23, 142, 149—152.
Lime-kilns, 125.
Limestone, 30, 31.
Lithophagi, 33.
Livia, 24, 56, 77, 83, 164.
Livilla, 56, 69, 84.
Lowe, Col., 190, 258, 261, 262, 263, 267, 268, 269, 270,
271, 273, 274.
Lucilla, 24, 89, 133, 151.
Lucullus, 69.
“ Macigno ”, 31.
Macro, 70.
Mackowen, Col., 2, 4, 5, 43, 105, 141, 153, 166, 180, 184,
185, 199, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214, 225, 231,
232.
Maestrale (wind), 12.
Maltese, 262, 264, 266.
Mangoni, 4, 17, 90, 91, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102,
103, 105, 106, 132, 136, 145, 152, 161, 169, 170, 186,
194, 195, 196, 197, 201, 202, 205, 211, 216, 223, 228,
229, 231, 243, 245, 246, 247.
Marbles, destruction of, 123—129.
Marbles, Roman, 115—121.
Marbles, removal of, 123—129.
Marcello de Angelis, 104.
Marcus Aurelius 24, 151.
Marmolata, 31.
Marina Grande, 3, 31, 42, 44, 131, 257, 258, 261, 263, 267,
272.

- Marina Piccola, 3, 31, 43, 44, 229, 237, 258, 261, 263, 272.
Marino, Doge of Amalfi, 91.
Marrocella, 3.
Martorana, 219.
Martorelli, 5, 228.
Masgabas, 22, 54, 161, 183.
Masonry, Roman, 109—113.
Mastrodattia, 97.
Matromania, 221, 261, 263.
— Cala di, 41, 221.
— Scoglio di, 41.
Maund, Cakely, 277, 278.
Mayor, 86.
Melloni, 44, 48.
Mendelssohn, 218.
Metropolitan Museum of Art., New York, 230.
Meyer, Emilio, 135.
Michele, S. Anacapri, 253.
— Chapel, 173.
— Hill of 2, 32, 34, 36, 43, 44, 141, 258, 267, 269.
— Temple of, 171—175.
Middleton, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 164.
Migliara, 31.
Military prison, 185.
Minervino, Count of, 95, 186.
Merivale, Dean, 55, 57, 65, 66, 76, 149, 150, 151, 158.
Misenum, 20, 65, 69.
Mithras, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227,
— Cave of, 221—228.
Mithraic worship, 25, 222, 224, 225, 227.
Monacone, 162, 183, 184.
Monticello, 193, 194, 195.
Montorio, 242.
Morcaldi, 101.

- Mulo, 44, 181.
Munthe, Dr. Axel, 195, 255.
Murat, Joachim, 259, 160, 170.
Murrine vases, 157, 158, 203.
" Murrini ", *See* murrhine vases.
Museum, British, *See* British Museum.
Museum Brussels, 121.
Museum Naples, *See* Naples Museum.
Names of Capri various, 6.
Naples Museum, 147, 156, 163, 166, 169, 222, 223, 230.
Narcissus, 293.
Neolithic age 34 (note).
Nelson, 256.
" Nero antico ", 118.
Nicolini, 48.
Nola, 54, 55, 61, 63.
Normans, 92, 93.
Obsidian implements, 34, 34 (note), 38.
Odyssey, 17.
Olive oil, 106.
" Opus incertum ", 109, 110, 111, 206.
" Opus mixtum ", 111, 112.
" Opus reticulatum ", 109, 111, 202, 206, 224, 235.
" Opus testaceum ", 109, 111.
" Opus quadratum ", 109.
Oppenheim, 30, 33, 34, 35.
Orchids, 296, 297.
Orico, 263, 264
Ovid, 18.
Pagano, Giuseppe, 218, 311, 313, 314, 315.
Palazzo a Mare, 42, 43, 153—159.
Palazzo Inglese, 103, 189—191, 258, 272, 288.
" Palombino ", 118, 196.
Pallium, 54.

- Parate, 38.
Parian marble, 115, 116.
Parona , 30.
Parrino, Antonio, 216, 285.
Pastena, 32, 36.
Pavements, 112, 113, 143, 144, 145, 156, 162, 166, 167, 169,
170, 194, 195, 196, 201, 205, 230.
Pentelic marble, 115, 116, 117.
Pellegrini, Bishop, 251.
Pellicia, A. A., 26, 29, 132.
" Peperino ", 109.
Peristyle, 143, 144.
Petra, Dionisio, 247.
Philo, 24.
Phlegrean regions, 37.
Phoenicians, 38.
Piatz, 35.
Pietro di Toledo, 101.
Plague, 101, 102.
Pliny, Elder, 18, 67, 112, 116, 158.
Pliny, Younger, 20.
Plutarch, 20.
Poliorama Pittoresco, 216, 219.
Pomponius Mela, 18.
Pontifex Maximus, 86.
Ponza, 1, 255, 260, 267.
Population, 4.
Portland vase, 230.
" Porta santa ", 119, 156, 252.
Pozzo, 193, 194, 195.
Pozzuoli, 1, 39, 149, 227.
" Pozzolana ", 31, 37.
Priveleges, *See* Decrees.
Propertius, 158.

-
- Propyleum, 175.
Ptolemy, 25.
Puggard, 36.
Pullen, Revd. H. W., 116—120.
Punta Carena, 1, 31, 41, 42.
— Gradelle, 264.
— Tragara, 42, 43, 161, 162, 164, 177, 261, 263.
— Tuora, 1.
— Ventrosa, 31, 42.
Puteals, 146, 147, 155.
Puteoli, 53.
Quail netting. 285—289.
— shooting, 103, 285—289.
Quattromani, 219.
Rainfall, 13, 14.
Rezzonico, Count, 29, 151, 178, 216, 222.
Renato of Anjou, 96.
Reservoirs, 3, 171, 178, 200, 202.
Review, military, 103.
Rhodes, 61, 62, 81.
Richter, Jean Pahl, 2.
Roane, Dr. James, 132—134, 225, 226.
Robert the Wise, 94.
Roger of Hautville, 92.
Roger XII, 92, 93.
Romanelli, 151, 166, 173, 178, 197, 203, 205, 237.
Roman roads, 171, 172, 173, 174, 177.
Rosemary,
“ Rosso antico ”, 118, 145, 162, 166, 170, 173, 230, 247.
Ruffo, Marquis, 44, 45, 48.
Salerno, 261, 264.
Salto, 23, 142.
Saracens, 90, 92, 93, 195, 199, 233.
Sarcophagus, 89, 132—134.

- Savino, 90.
Schaefer, Adele, 319—322
Schultze, Dr., 26.
Schoener, Dr. 154, 202, 206, 208, 209, 211, 212, 213, 214,
215, 224, 235, 245, 246, 282.
Scirocco (wind), 12.
Scoglio della Sirena, 182.
— della Ricotta, 41.
Sea-beaches, 32.
Sea-level, 42, 44, 64.
Secondo, 147, 151, 157, 178, 202, 216, 222.
Sejanus, 19, 20, 23, 24, 63, 69, 78, 79, 83, 141.
“ Sellarie ”, 178, 179.
Semaphore hill, 2.
Seneca, 18, 151.
Serafino di Dio, 251, 253.
Serapis, temple of, 39.
Servius, Duke of Naples, 91.
“ Serravezza ”, 119, 145, 156, 162, 247, 252.
Shells, 36.
Sicilian Vespers, 93.
Sicily, 93, 94, 256, 258, 270, 271.
Sidonius, 19.
Sievers, 85.
Silius Italicus, 19.
Sirens, 18.
Sismondi, 93, 94, 95.
“ Sloth, island of ”, 161, 183.
Smith, A. H. 127, 155.
Smith, Sir Sydney, 257.
Snow, 13.
Soccorso, S. Maria, 144, 258.
Solaro, Monte, 1, 2, 11, 13, 36, 43, 141, 265, 268,
Solinus, 25.

- Solyman the Magnificent, 98, 100.
Sopra-Fontana, 26, 201, 202, 203.
" Sorgente ", 2.
Sorrento, 1, 18, 24, 89.
" Spintrie ", 178, 179.
Stahr, Adop, 79, 80, 85.
Stamer, 169, 189.
Starke, Marianna, 219.
Statius, 19, 24, 150, 151.
Statues, 143, 145, 152, 155, 159, 201, 202.
Stefano, S. Church., 162, 247, 248.
Steinman, 30, 35.
Storms, 12.
Stephanus of Byzantium, 27.
Strabo, 18.
Strongoli Pignatelli, Prince, 261.
Suetonius, 21, 22, 23, 24, 50, 52, 54, 55, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69,
70, 72, 80, 82, 84, 85, 140, 141, 151, 178, 179, 183, 184.
Susino, Capt., 263.
Symonds, John A., 92.
Tacitus, 20, 21, 52, 53, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 80, 81,
82, 83, 84, 85, 87.
Tancred, 92.
Tarver, 57, 80, 83, 84.
Teleboans, 18, 19, 21.
Telegrafo, 36.
Telegraph hill, 2.
Telon, 18, 19.
Temple, San Michele, *See* San Michele.
Temperature, 14, 15.
Teresa, S. Convent, 251, 252.
Thomas, Adjutant, 261, 264, 271.
Thorold, Sir Nathaniel, 189, 190.
Thrasyllus, 22, 68.

- Tiberius, 19, 20, 25, 51, 52, 53, 59—88, 89, 140, 141, 143,
146, 149, 178.
Tiberio, *See* Villa Jovis.
Titonio period, 33.
Toga, 54.
“ Torchino venato ”, 166.
Townley collection, 155.
Tragara, Palace, 161, 162.
Tragara, port, 43, 44, 180, 199, 200.
Tragara punta, *See* Punta Tragara.
Tramontana (wind), 12.
Trani, 93.
Travertine, 109.
Triclinium, 144.
Truglio, 3, 201.
Tursini, Prof., 3.
Unghia Marina, 42.
— — Palace, 163, 164.
Upatos, 222.
Urgonian period, 35, 36.
Valentino, 169, 170, 179.
Vase, marble, 166, 196.
Ventotene, 1.
“ Verde antico ”, 120, 246, 252.
Vespasian coin, 132.
Vesta, bust of, 197.
— Temple of, 197.
Veterino, 193, 194, 195.
Vesuvius, 20, 30, 37.
Victor, Sextus Aurelius, 25.
Vines, 106, 107.
Vipsania, 78.
Villa Jovis, 2, 23, 103, 139—147, 149, 249, 252, 281, 282.
Virgil, 18.

-
- Violets, 294, 295.
Vitellius, 24.
Vitruvius, 110, 112.
Voltaire, 84, 85.
Water supply, 2.
Walters, Allan, 228.
Walther, 30, 35, 36.
Weichardt, 49, 51, 52, 124, 140, 142, 143, 144, 145, 154,
159, 161, 162, 165, 172, 174, 175, 181, 186, 208, 210,
222, 224, 226, 227, 231,
White, A. Silva, 9—16.
Winds, 12.
Wine, production of, 6, 7.
Winery, 7.
Wolffsohn, Mss, 311—318.
Wreford, 191.
Wundergrotto, 277—281.
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